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METROPOLITAN PRINTING AND PUBLISHING HOUSE Ltd.
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CONTENTS

The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XVIII **March, 1942** **No. 1**

Early Tamil Religious Literature

Introductory

The end of the fifth century or the commencement of the sixth century may be roughly stated to be the period when the Saṅgam Age of the Tamils came to an end. One may not be far wrong if it is said that the active period of the Saṅgam ended with the third century and a decline set in in the literary output which can be definitely marked as of Saṅgam age. But the period of the decline seems to have spread over nearly two centuries when some of the minor works which go under the category of *Patinenkīlkanakku*[1] were produced. According to one view Nālaḍiyār and Kaḷavalinaipatu, which are among these eighteen Didactics, are to be ascribed to a period later than the Saṅgam. Nālaḍiyār which contains 400 quatrains is a work of different poets. Like the *Tirukkural* of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, this composition is a treatise on practical morals acceptable to followers of all creeds or faiths. The lateness of the work is believed to be evidenced by the fact of the mention of Muttaraiyar in stanzas 200 and 296.[2]

Some identify this Muttaraiyar with the Muttaraśa chieftains who were feudatories of the Pallava and Pāṇḍya kings during the eighth century A.D. But the expression Muttaraiyar need not necessarily refer to the Muttaraśar chieftains, but may, in all probability, be a reference to the three traditional kings—Coḷa, Cera and Pāṇḍya. Yet the traditional view

1 Much difficulty is experienced in arranging dates for *kīlkanakku* works. There is a remarkable variation in diction among many of these works.

2 Perumuttaraiyar Perituvantiyum (200)
karunaicco ṟārvar kayavar
... ...
nalkūrntak kannum Perumuttaraiyarc 296
celvaraic cenṟiravā ṯār.

that the Nālaḍiyār was one of the productions of the Jaina Saṅgha established at Madura about 450 A.D. may not be quite unacceptable. If this view be accepted, then Nālaḍiyār is a composition of the middle of the fifth century,[3] which may well be said to be the last days of the glorious Śaṅgam Age.

The other work of the Patinenkīlkaṇakku which is also considered to be a post-Śangam composition is the *Kaḷavaḻinārpatu* by Poyhaiyār. This is a poem of forty veṇbās sung by the poet Poyhaiyār belauding the Cera king Kaṇaikkāl-Irumporai who discomfited the Coḷa monarch Koccengaṇān in the battle of Kaḻumalam, and took him prisoner The poet praises the Cera's valour and obtains release of the Coḷa monarch. Before the actual release occurs, the tragedy is enacted Koccengaṇāṉ who prefers honour to life dies of thirst.[4]

One evidence adduced in favour of the late date is again his reference to Tiraiyar according to the commentator of the *Yāpparumkalaviruttı.*[5] If we accept the authority of this commentator,—and there seems to be no particular reason to reject this,—the reference to Tiraiyar cannot take us very far. The reference in this case is not to Muttaraiyar but only to Tiraiyar, and students of South Indian history know of a ruling Tamil dynasty which went by the name of the Tiraiyar and which had its capital at Kāñci, later the capital of the Pallavas The Tiraiyar line seems to have commenced in the middle of the second century A.D , the hey-day of the Śaṅgam period. In the light of this circumstance it does not appear quite acceptable that this Poyhaiyār of the Śaṅgam may be one and the same as Poyhai Āḻvār probably of the sixth century A D [5a] If we grant that both the Saṅgam Poyhaiyār and Poyhai Āḻvār are one and the same person, this leads to the inference that the Śangam Age continued to the sixth century A D., and later, and that Koccenganāṉ lived in that period

3 Another view is that the Nāladiyar might have been compiled at this time but not actually composed *Palamoli* for example conforms to the rules of prosody more than Nāladiyār

4 The colophon to Puram 74· also K G Sesha Aiyar, *Cera Kings of the Sangam period* (1937), pp 67 69

5 See p 518 of the edition -by S Bavanandam Pillai (1916) The line narumālai tārāv *tiraiyavō* vennum This stanza is said to be by Poyhaiyar

5a See *Tamil Varalāru* pp 176-7 by K S Srinivasa Pillai contra M Raghava Aiyangar *Āḻvārkal kālanilai* pp 23-29—second ed.

It is neither feasible nor plausible to extend the age of the Śaṅgam to any indefinite length. For in the writings of this century which indeed reflect the views and feelings of the people of that century, we do not find that outlook on life and things in general which characterises all Śaṅgam works. No more are the themes on the four, or more correctly, five *tiṇais*.[6] War and love which dominate to a pre-eminent degree the Śaṅgam works are relegated to the back-ground. In the literature of the later sixth and seventh centuries a student of Tamil literature lives entirely in a new world, a world quite different from that of the Śaṅgam. The toleration which is the keynote of the Śaṅgam monarchs and peoples has given way to sectarianism. Religious sects, religious debates and religious persecutions become the order of the day. The same transformation is distinctly discernible in the language and the style of compositions of this period.

The period of five centuries commencing with 500 A D. may be generally characterised as an age of religious revival But this religious awakening did not stop the progress of literature on arts and letters On the other hand, one notices a progressive growth in arts and letters. This period was again a flourishing age of art and architecture. Temple architecture was developed to a wonderfully high degree of perfection The cave temples of the Pallavas which arrest the attention of the antiquarian on his flying visit to Mahābalipuram in the present Chingleput District are a prominent style of architecture of this period Sculptures of the portrait variety are also a normal feature of this age We find sculptures of kings and saints engraved on stones in temples. It is legitimate to ask what is this sudden flourish of enthusiasm due to? Historical causes were at work. Since the decline of the Śaṅgam Age set in, the heretical movements of the Jina and Buddha gained in importance and became more and more influential. The leaders of these sects were able to win the sympathy, encouragement and patronage of the reigning chieftains of Tonḍaimaṇḍilam like the Pallavas, as well as of the other Tamil kingdoms—the Cola, Pāndya and Cera mandilams. It seemed as if the *Vaidika* religion represented by the Saiva and Vaiṣnava was in danger This led to a severe form of reaction in the shape of propaganda work by Nāyanmārs and Āḻvārs.

All this we see clearly reflected in their writings which go by the name of the Tevāram and Nālāvira Divyaprabandam. We shall now pro-

6 These are Marudam, Kuriñji, Neydal, Mullai and Pālai.

ceed to examine these highly religious works which are regarded by the Tamils as taking a rank next to the Veda. These hymns and songs are all sacred song-hymns which were in all probability sung in temple service even in the time of the Nāyanmārs and Āḻvārs. The evidence is furnished by epigraphy. For example, we find in the inscription of Narasimhavarman I, the Pallava king, the expression *Tiruppadigampāḍi*.[7] One view is that it is a reference to the singing of Tevāram hymns in the temples. Against this it may be argued that these *padigams* may be the compositions of court poets and other great men and these were caused by kings to be sung in the temple-services. Whatever this may be we are on firm ground when we come to the reign of Rājarāja I in whose inscriptions we have explicit references to what we call *mūvarvanakkam* celebrating the Tevāram trio. And these continue to be sung to the present day In fact these saints have been canonised and separate worship and prayer are being offered to their shrines To cite an example, there is a temple dedicated to Māṇikkavāśagar, otherwise known as Vādavūrar, in Tirupperunturai, the modern Āvaduyārkoil, about twenty miles to the south of Pudukotai town.

Let me now proceed to examine in detail the Tevāram which contains the song-hymns of the Śaiva saints who flourished from the fifth to the twelfth century. The Śaiva devotional literature is designated *Tirumurai* of which as many as twelve are distinguished This was compiled by one Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi who is said to have flourished in the tenth or more probably eleventh century A D. Of these *Tirumurais* or collection of song-hymns, the first three are attributed to Sambandar, the next four to Appar and Sundarar and the eighth to Māṇikkavāśagar. It may be noted in passing that Tirukkovai was a later addition to the eighth *Tirumurai*. The *Tiruviśaippa* constitutes the ninth *Tirumurai*, the Tirumantiram of Tirumūlar the tenth *Tirumurai*, and the *Periyapurāṇam* of Śekkiḻār forms the twelfth *Tirumurai* The eleventh *Tirumurai* consists of songs and hymns sung by many devotees some of whom flourished in the period before the *Tevāram* trio, and others after. There has been a divided opinion as to the period when the divison into the twelve *Tirumurais* or rather into eleven *Tirumurais* was affected. For it does not need a ghost to say that the last *Tirumurai* was added either during the age of Śekkiḻār

7 *SII*, III, pt. I, p 93

or that succeeding it. It has been held that the division into eleven Tirumurais[8] was made during the reign of Rājarāja I. The concensus of critical opinion is that the compilation into *Tirumurais* was done in the early reign of Rājarāja who came to the throne in about 985 A.D. and who was also known as Śivapādaśekharan. This is a religious designation meaning one who has the feet of Śiva on his crest.' The epigraphist suggests that this king carried the titles of Śri Rājarāja and Śivapādaśekhara in the period between the 18th and 21st year of his reign when he was not occupied with any wars.[9]

The earlier Śaiva saints

In the Sangam Age to advert to what we have already said, there was no nice distinction between religious sects. There was no exclusive Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva sect. The followers of the Vedic religion worshipped both in Śiva and Vaiṣṇava temples like the Smārtas of today. Senguṭṭuvan *Śilappadikāram* is a classic example. But with the march of time, subtle distinctions grew and the sectarian spirit caught hold of the popular imagination Even the later Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs began to lay stress on the greatness of their chosen deity, Viṣṇu or Śiva as the case might be. This sectarianism became prominent only in the seventh century and after In the interval between this century and the last epoch of the Sangam period, the religious revival did not take a sectarian turn. The Nāyanmārs and Ālvārs of this period, which can be roughly said to cover the whole of the sixth century and perhaps the latter half of the fifth century, were far from being sectarian in their outlook. Among these saints, posterity remembers only two among the Saivas-Tirumūlar and Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār,—and three or even four among the Vaisnavas—the first three Āḻvārs and Tirumaliśai Ālvār as we shall see in the sequel. There seem to have been also other saints of both sexes who had been forgotten with the lapse of time

8 According to Mr S. Somasundara Desikar (*Śaivaśikamaṇigal Iruvar*, pp. 32 ff) this compilation may have preceded Rajaraja, and on the strength of the opening stanza of *Tirumuraikaṇḍa purāṇam* wherein the name of the king appears as Rājarāja Abhaya Kulaśekhara. Mr Desikar is inclined to identify this king with Ādiya Karikāla, whose name seems to be Parakesari Āditya II Pārthivendra Karikāla and who reigned from *c.* 956 to 969 A.D. (See for this date K. A Nilakanta Sastri. *The Colas*, I, p. 180)

9 *SII.*, vol II. Intro pp. 13-14.

Tirumūlar

This saint is said to have flourished in the sixth century or a little towards the close of the fifth century.[10] I have given a brief sketch of the life of this saint elsewhere.[11] Suffice it to say that his immortal work which comes primarily under the classification of Āgama literature forms the tenth book of *Tirumurai* and is entitled Tirumantiram. The book consists of 3000 verses, and Śekkiḻār, in his inimitable style, says that it is a sweet garland of 3000 verses laid at the feet of the Lord with the crescent on His head.[12]

Each verse is a *mantiram* (Sanskrit *mantra*) which according to the sage is the result of deep concentration of mind (Dhāranā). The subject matter treated of is *caryā*, *kriyā*, *jñāna* and *yoga*[13] Tirumūlar believes in one Supreme Being which he designates Śiva and elaborates his theory that God is all bliss, and that love (anbu) is not different from bliss (śivam), but it is itself from another view-point. Or, in other words, love leads to bliss Speaking on human relationship to this Supreme Being, he sums up the whole philosophy in three words *pati*, *paśu* and *paśam*[14] *Pati* is the Omnipotent One, *paśu* is the evolving life and *pāśam* is the world of bondage A critical study of his work shows how close a student he was of Yoga philosophy and Āgama śāstras in Sanskrit He was a yogin of a high and perhaps a rare type. His mysticism was the fruit of his saintliness.

Regarding the subject matter of the Tirumantiram, one has to infer that it could have been completely grasped only by a small minority of even learned people, although the later Tamil literature evidences the acceptance of his fundamental doctrines and even a great respect for him. Many of the high topics he taught were deemed to be fit for only the initiated few. In order to attain *siddhi* one should resort to a proper *guru* whom he should regard as Śiva Himself and get initiated. From Tāyumānavar's reference in his songs to Maunaguru—and Tāyumānavar flourished in the eighteenth century—we come to know that there was a regular line of

10 *Origin and Early History of Śaivism in S India*, p 211 by C V. Narayana Aiyar There is a view that some later ideas have been fathered upon this Tirumūlar

11 Dikshitar *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, pp. 116-119, Second ed, Madras University.

12 *Periyapurānam*, *Tirumūlanāyanār Purānam*, St 27

13 St. 28.

14 St. 2392.

disciples from the time of Tirumūlar onwards who apparently practised (though perhaps not very publicly) certain modes of yoga as a means of Ātmic realisation.[15] Possibly, it was this special excellence of Tirumūlar's teaching that had simultaneously the effect of heightening its value and also confining it to a very limited section of the Tamil literature. From Dr. Mohan Singh's account of Gorakhnath (in his *Gorakhnath and Mediaeval Hindu Mysticism*, Lahore, 1937) we can infer that a closely similar mystic yogic practice has been prevalent for several centuries past in North India also.

Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār

Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār was a saint who realised God Śiva and became devoted to Him as Murugammaiyār, literally one devoted to Muruga (Subrahmaṇya). She is said to have lived long before Nakkīrar. We have the authority of Yāpparumkalavirutti which cites among others Kāraikkāṟpeyār and Mūlar as examples of sage poets (āritakkavi). An āriṭakkavi is defined by the same *virutti* as a Ṛṣi or seer who knows past, present and future, and who possesses power to create and destroy.

Apparently Kāraikkāṟpeyār is a reference to the saintly lady Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār.[16] The following story is told of her.[17] She was born to a certain wealthy merchant by name Danadatta who lived at Karaikkal, now a French sea port town near Negapatam. Her name was Punitavati or Punitavatiyar. From her childhood she was devoted to God Śiva and all her love and affection was bestowed on that God. But when she came of marriageable age her parents got her married to one Paramadattan, a merchant of Negapatam according to the orthodox rites incumbent on the Vaisya caste. Danadatta who had great affection for his daughter assigned special lodgings for her and her husband in Karaikkal itself. Paramadatta lived with his sweet wife in her house for a long time. She was much devoted to him and properly discharged the duties devolved on her as a householder's wife.

15 All stanzas in the section on *Maunaguruvaṇakkam* end thus
mantra gurave; yoga tantra gurave. mūlan
marabilvaru maunagurave

16 The Tiruvāśagam refers to the lady of Kāraikkāl VII 15

17 I have followed the Periyapurāṇam version of *Kāraikkālammaiyār Purāṇam* ed by Arumuga Navalar 7th ed pp 250-56

One day Paramadatta went out and sent two mango fruits to his wife beforehand. While he had not yet returned that day, a Śaiva ascetic called at their place and asked to be fed. Herself a devotee of Śiva, she readily offered to feed the anchorite. She had only rice to offer and no other dishes. So she took one of the mango fruits sent to her by her husband and served it along with rice. The ascetic went away much pleased. Soon after the husband returned home. Finding him hungry and wearied, she served him with food. One dish was the remaining mango fruit. He consumed it and asked for the second as he was not aware of her having fed the sannyāsi, just before he sat for dinner. She could not hide the fact. But she had not the courage to speak out the truth lest she should be misunderstood. She prayed silently to her chosen deity. The prayer was heard and immediately she found a delicious mango in her hand. She ran to serve it to her husband. He relished it much, found it extra sweet, and when asked as to how she got it, she explained it was a divinely sent fruit. Paramadatta was struck by her miraculous powers and left her and the town to the distant Pāṇḍyan kingdom.

There he married another lady and had a child. Punitavatiyār enquired of his whereabouts. When she got to know of the place of his residence she had no hesitation to meet him. But he, his second wife and child prostrated at her feet. She thought that with that form of beauty she was not fit to live in the world. So she prayed to God to transform her into a form of demoness. In the course of her wanderings she reached the outskirts of Kailāsa hills when Śiva called her 'Mother' and she called him in turn 'Father'. She expressed her wish to dwell ever in his presence and under His dancing-feet Asked to meet him in His dance at Tiruvālankāḍu, she did so. In the course of His dance, the God took her under His foot. The Rev G. U Pope observes· 'The poems attributed to Kāraikkāl present the most vivid picture of demon worship with which I am acquainted.[18] Her hymns which are popularly known as *mūtta Tevarām* form a part of the eleventh *Tirumurai* These were *mūtta Tevāram* because their author was a predecessor of the *Tevāram* trio, or she was the first to sing hymns of the *Tevāram* type. The hymns are classified under three heads: *Tiruvālamkāḍu* mūtta *Tiruppadigam*, *Tiru-Irattai maṇimālai* and *Arpuda*

Rev G U. Pope, *Tiruvāśagam*, p. 113

Tiruvantāti. These hymns glorify the greatness of the worshipful God Śiva, and show her devotion to him.

The Early Āḻvārs

Before we go into an examination of the authors of other *Tirumurais*, especially the earlier *Tirumurais*, it will be appropriate to speak of the early Āḻvārs who were more or less contemporaries with the devotees of Śiva above mentioned. According to one account there were only ten Āḻvārs and according to another account there were twelve of them While Āṇḍāḷ and Madurakavi are left out in the first case, they are included in the second. Āṇḍāḷ is left out because she belonged to the weaker sex and further she aimed at the marriage of the Lord with her. Madura-Kavi is left out because he did not direct his prayers to Hari or Tirumāl just like other Ālvārs, but he glorified his master Nammālvār and was his devout pupil To him Nammāḻvār himself was God For these reasons these two, Āndāl and Madurakavi, are not included in the accredited list of Āḻvārs.

The order in which the Āḻvārs are mentioned is different with different authors, some of whom are Tiruvarangattamudanār, Parāśarabhattar, Pinpalakiya Perumāl Jīyar, Vedanta Deśikar and Manavalamāmunikāḷ. In addition to these there is an order furnished by the *Nālāyirappirabandam*. Just as the *Tirumurai* is a collection of the hymns of Śaiva ācāryas in praise of Śiva, so is also the *Nālāynappirabandam* which contains the song-hymns in praise of Tirumāl by the devotees of Visnu, who went by the name of Ālvārs or Vaisnava saints The division of the hymns is as follows

Poyhaiyār	100	Kulaśēkharā'var	155
Pūtattār	100	Periyālvār	473
Pēyālvār	100	Āndāl	173
Tirumaliśai	216	Tondaradippodi	55
Nammālvār	1296	Tiruppānālvar	10
Madurakavi	11	Tirumangaiyar	1253
		Tiruvarangattamudanār	108

These form altogether 4000 verses, and hence the name *Nalāynappirabandam* Of these, the contributions of Nammālvār and Tirumangai Mannan are the largest. The first three Ālvārs who are generally accepted to be Poyhaiyār, Pūtattār and Peyāḻvār, have, each of them, a hundred hymns. Tirumaḻiśai who was perhaps the younger contemporary of these Ālvārs has to his credit two hundred and sixteen hymns With this preliminary we shall now proceed to examine who these were, when they flour-

ished, and what they sang. Though Poyhaiyār, Pūtattār and Peyāḻvār are generally regarded as the first Āḻvārs, Tirumaḻiśai's name may be added and the first Āḻvārs may be regarded to be four in number. Tirumaḻiśai was probably the connecting link between the first three Āḻvārs and the later Āḻvārs who became more and more sectarian in outlook.

Poyhaiyār

We have already cited the authority of Yāpparuṅkalaviruttikārar in connection with Tirumūlar to show that in his opinion the Āriṭakkavikaḷ (sage-poet) should have been sages who had the vision of looking into the past, present and future, and who possessed the power of creating and destroying things, and in that connection expresses the traditional view that the Tamil world of his time regarded Poyhaiyār, Kuḍamūkkirbagavar, Pūtattār, Kāraikkārpeyār and Mūlar as sage-poets.[19] If the identification of Kāraikkārpeyār with Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār is valid, she was also a poet and seer. The same is true of early Vaiṣṇava ācāryas like Poyhaiyār and Pūtattār. The Tamil expression *Irudi* corresponds to the Vedic seer who *knew* the truth and *saw* it. The rise of Indian philosophy and philosophical schools of thought was due to the fact that the sages who belonged to the post-Vedic times got to *know* the truth but lacked the vision to *see* it. The ceaseless search for the vision to see the truth led to the rise of a number of schools of philosophy. The Viruttikārar perhaps means by the expression *Irudi*, one who possessed the knowledge of truth and had the vision also to see it. This is not implausible, for while the early two Śaiva ācāryas were literally *yogins*, the first Āḻvārs were those who realised the Supreme Being as Nirguṇabrahman and knew at the same time that this Supreme Being in the *Saguṇa* forms is conceivable by devotees, when it manifests itself, to every one of them in the particular form in which he or she chooses to realise it mentally. It may be called Śiva or Viṣṇu. But all the same it is the Impersonal Supreme Being. This is the philosophy that is at the background of the hymns of the first Āḻvārs. If we examine the verses 5, 74 and 98 attributed to Poyhaiyār, we find the Āḻvār making no difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu, attributing the heroic deeds of Viṣṇu to Śiva and of Śiva to Viṣṇu. This is what we may call the *abhedabuddhi*. Besides, his hymns show that he did not preach against the heretical sects of his time like Jainism and Buddhism. Nor did he essay to defend the established religion. He did not feel called upon to

19 Pp. 350-352

lay any emphasis on the sectarian aspect. His was a tolerant and catholic faith. He did not make any distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu. To him the Superme Being was both Śiva and Viṣṇu. Thus sectarianism is a later growth in the history of South Indian religion.

Appropriate to the *Yāpparumkalaviruttı* which characterises Poyhaiyār as a seer, the legend has it that he was an *ayonija* like his contemporaries Pūtattār and Peyāḻvār. The place of his birth is said to be Kacci (modern Conjeevaram) which formed the capital of Toṇḍaimaṇḍilam then ruled by the Pallavas of Kāñci Why he came to be known as Poyhaiyār has been engaging the attention of students of history. Tradition narrates that as he took his birth in a lotus-pond, he got that name Poyhai, *poyhai* being the Tamil expression for a pond Students of history who would not attach much value to the mythical origin of this poet-saint would explain that being born in the township Poyhai he became known as Poyhaiyān It has been customary in our land to call a certain person after the name of his birth-place. So there is nothing improbable in the theory that the saint, whatever was his original name, came to be known to the outside world as Poyhaiyāṉ, or one who belonged to the town of Poyhai.

In the *Perumtogai* (ed M. Raghava Aiyangar) we have references to Poyhai in two stanzas 1223 and 2146 In the notes appended, the Poyhai, referred to in both the stanzas 1223 and 2146, is identified with a village bearing that name next to Viriñcipuram in Toṇḍaināḍu. It is in modern (Vellore) Velūr Taluq in North Arcot District. It is probable that this Poyhai in Toṇḍaināḍu was the native place of Saint Poyhaiyār [20]

Attention has already been drawn to the slender basis of the theory that both the Śangam Poyhaiyār and the Āḻvār Poyhaiyār are one and the same person. The untenability of the theory has been shown in the previous pages, with all deference to the esteemed Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar who was the father of this theory.[20a] His argument that Poyhaiyār was a saint and could not have known court-life or was oblivious of the day to day life can not be taken seriously. It is just possible that sages commingled with the members of the society and yet lived apart from them The great Śuka, the author of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, is an example in point. But our main difficulty is the distance of time and differences in language and style. His song-hymns which form a part of *Tiruvantāti* are all verses purely in

20 *SII*, vol I, p 90, Ins. No. 63. 20a *Sen Tamil*, vol I, p. 6,

veṇbā metre, and the section containing the *antātis* of these early Āḷvārs is known as the Iyarpa of the *Divyapprabandham*. It has been well said that an *antāti* poem is anaphonetic, the last word of a verse being repeated in the beginning of the following verse. The beautiful effect it produces on the reader from the original can be more easily imagined than described. (On *Antātis* and their classifications see Mahāvidvān R. Raghava Aiyangar's articles *Antātis* in *Śeṇ Tamil*, vol. V, pp. 273-77).

A story is told in connection with the origin of these *Antātis*. Once Poyhaiyār felt the urge to visit the Lord enshrined in Tirukkovilūr. While yet on his way to the place of destination, evening set in, and Poyhaiyār had to seek shelter in a stranger's house in the neighbouring village. The house had scarcely room to accommodate him conveniently. It was all dark and there was little or no light. Still the householder was hospitable enough to give Poyhaiyār some sleeping accommodation. At that time and to the same house came Pūtattār little knowing that Poyhaiyār was there. Seeing his brother saint there, he requested him to accommodate him also. Poyhaiyār said he was quite willing to share the place reserved for him, though it would mean only sitting accommodation to both of them. To their great surprise Peyāḷvār was soon on the scene and entreated them to give him some accommodation. Now it meant only standing accommodation to all the three. There was not enough space for all of them to sit. When they continued to stand all the night thus meditating upon the Invisible Being, it was past mid-night. Each of them felt some external pressure brought to bear on their physical frames. Unable to bear it and incapable of discerning it, in the absence of a lamp, each of them sent forth his prayers for light. Poyhaiyār belauded the Sun-God as his lamp and Pūtattār, love as his lamp. The light of these two divine lamps cast off the darkness all round. In that light these saints saw *Tirumāl*, and this resulted in an outburst of songs from the mouth of Peyālvār, all in glory of the Lord's greatness. What these three sang in that poor man's shelter became the great *Tiruvantatis*, the boundless treasure of emotional outpourings. The reader of these *Antatis* which extol the heroic exploits of different manifestations of Hari is often led to raptures of joy.

Date

From a *pāśuram* (77 of First Tiruvantāti) where a reference is made to the Lord enshrined at Vinnagar in a sitting posture by Poyhaiyār it was sug-

gested [21] that this Viṇṇagaram referred to Parameśvaraviṇṇagara in Kāñci which was built by Parameśvara Pallava at the commencement of the eighth century, as there was no other place bearing that name, where the Lord was found in a sitting posture. This means the date of Poyhaiyār should be brought down by two centuries But M. Raghava Aiyangar has ably pointed out that though there was nothing answering to that description in Toṇḍaināḍu, there were three temples with the Lord enshrined in a sitting posture in the Cōḷa kingdom, and the reference should be to one of these three—Nandipuraviṇṇagaram (Nātnan Kōil), Vaikunthaviṇṇagaram and Arimeyaviṇṇagaram (*Ālvārkālanilai*, pp. 41-2). Of these the first seems to have been named after Nandivarman I Pallava as this place finds mention in the Udiyendram plates relating to war of Nandivarman II In the light of this, the eighth century theory falls to the ground. If Poyhaiyār has referred to Nandipuraviṇṇagaram, then, we can easily fix him in the second half of the sixth century.

Pūtattār is the next in order of the early Ālvārs accepted by ancient authorities like the *Divyasūricaritam* and Pinpalakiya Perumāl Jīyar and Maṇavāḷamāmuṇikal He however heads the list furnished by Parāśara bhatta. But orthodox tradition has accorded to this Āḷvār a place next to Poyhaiyār, and it is reasonable to credit this tradition with trustworthiness Pūtattār is the Tamil form of Sanskrit expression *Bhūta* It is difficult to explain why this saint was dubbed with this name. There is no traditional account which goes to explain this name hallowed by ages in the Tamil land. The place of his birth is Tirukkaḍan-mallai or simply Kaḍanmallai. Kaḍanmallai is an ancient town in Tondaināḍu or Tondaimaṇḍilam There is a reference to this place in verse 70 of *Tiruvantati* attributed to this poet-saint

Māmallai Kovilmatir Kudantai

Another name of Kaḍanmallai was Māmallapuram. Its original name seems to be Mallai, and the prefix Kaḍal to it shows that it occupied an important place in ancient times as a seaport town. Much overseas trade was perhaps carried on in this town. That a number of ships called at this port is evident from the ***pāśuram*** of Tirumangaimaṇṇan[22] In the light of this

21 M Srinivasa Aiyar, *Tamil Studies*, pp 301-2.

22 *Periya Tirumoli*, 2 6 6

pāśuram Mallai came to be regarded Kaḍanmallai because of her sea-bourne trade. A second name by which this town was known, as has been already said, is Māmalla-puram. This name has been the cause of some ingenious theories. One is that Narasimha Pallava I had the title Mahāmalla or Māmalla; and this king who flourished from 630 A.D. to 660 A.D. was the cause of founding or rebuilding this town. Consequent to this the town came to be known Māmallapuram. Another theory is that Pūtattār speaks of this in his *Antāti* as Māmallai, and therefore his date should be looked for after the place earned the new name, i.e., after 650 A.D. Though this seems at first sight quite plausible, it does not satisfy the critical test. The name of the town has been always Mallai, and some attributes were given by poets to it according as their fancy led them. While Pūtattār called it Māmallai, Tirumangai spoke of it as Kaḍanmallai.[23] And Māmallai means the great or good Mallai. Does not Tirumaliśai speak of Mayilai and Allikkeṇi as Māmayilai and Māvallikkeṇi? This is the sense in which Pūtattār uses Māmalla. It has nothing to do with Narasimhan I Pallava He might have rebuilt it and might have beautified it He could have improved it in other ways. But to say that the town earned Māmallai after his name is to say the least inconclusive (For the original name of the town see Fr. Heras. *Studies in Pallava History*—chapter on *Pre-Pallava Existence of Mahābalipuram* and criticism on it by C. M Ramachandra Chettiar in *QJMS*, vol. XXVIII, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 159-163).

Though this is not the place to discuss the history of the names of this city, yet we have to refer to it, as scholars have used one of its names to bring down the date of Pūtattār to the latter half of the seventh century, which sets at nought all the traditional accounts centering round this Ālvār.[24] That the town is certainly not the original foundation of Mahāmalla Narasimha Pallava is also evident from the Sangam work *Sirupāṇārrupaḍai* where it is mentioned as the capital of Tondaimandilam.

In dealing with the origin of *Tiruvantāti* under the caption Poyhaiyār mention has been made that Pūtattār composed his *Antāti* with Love as his lamp in the poor man's door where the trio, Poyhaiyār, Peyār and himself took shelter on their way to Tirukkovilūr. This evidence alone is sufficient to suggest the contemporaneity of Pūtattār with Poyhaiyār. In the *Āritta-veṇbā* quoted by the *Yāpparumkalaviruttı* it is said that that *veṇbā*[25] was the

23 *The History of Sri Vaiṣṇavas*, p 16.

24 Second Tiruppadikam

25 P. 352

joint production of Pūtattār and Kāraikkār Peyammaiyār. The latter we have sought to identify, with Kārikkār Ammaiyār. Thus it becomes possible that Pūtattār was a contemporary of the celebrated lady saint Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār.

Before we close this sketch on Pūtattār attention should be drawn to the fact of a ***veṇbā*** quoted by the commentators, both Perāśiriyar and Naccinārkiṇiyar, in their gloss on the *sūtra* 113 of the Tolkāppiyām. At the end of this ***veṇbā***, the remark is made meaning that this is the ***Avaiyaṭakku*** or the author's conventional statement humbling himself before the assembly of the learned. Though we have here two eminent authorities the distinguished commentators of whom the Tamil world is rightly proud, who refer to a certain Pūtattār, it is difficult to attribute this ***veṇbā*** or this reference to Pūtattāḻvār. It may or may not be a reference to the Āḻvār in question There is every probability that it is a reference to some poet who bears the same name From identical names we cannot jump to any conclusion, and conclusions based on such identity of names may lead us astray. Further we have no evidence to show that Pūtattār has anywhere or at any time had anything to do with *avai* or *avaiyatakkam* For he was not a royal poet. He was more a saint than a poet

Peyāḻvār

Next comes Peyāḻvār in the accepted order of Āḻvārs. Unfortunately there are little or no details about this great sage whose contribution to the South Indian religious literature was of no mean order Like his contemporaries Peyāḻvār was on ***ayonija*** His birth is hedged with divinity. He is known to us as a sage and seer He joined the company of Poyhaiyār and Pūtattār in a night on their way to have a ***darśan*** of Hari at Tirukkovilūr. It has been already mentioned that to keep off the prevailing gloom, Poyhaiyār and Pūtattār sang *Antātis* when Hari manifested Himself before them. On seeing the Lord, Peyāḻvār overflowed in rapturous joy and belauded the worshipful God in an *Antāti* rich with passion that welled up from his devotional heart.

We know that the place of his birth was Mayilai or modern Mylapore which forms today a part of the Madras city. That he was a contemporary of Poyhaiyār and Pūtattār is also evident from the foregoing pages. Hence he is not the Peyanār known to Śangam works. The Peyanār of the Śangam, the author of the Mullaittinai of ***Aingurunūru***, is quite different

from Peyāḷvār, and fortunately for us this has found unanimous acceptance among scholars. Before we proceed to examine the life and writings of Tirumaḷiśai Āḷvār it must be pointed out that Peyāḷvār together with his contemporaries Poyhaiyār and Pūtattār, paid a visit to Tirumaḷiśai who was engaged in deep penance at Tiruvallikkeni (modern Triplicane, a suburb of Madras city). The extant *Guruparamparais* bear eloquent testimony to this fact of the meeting of the three early Āḷvārs with Tirumaḷiśai. And therefore we have to take it for granted that all the four Āḷvārs were contemporaries, the first three being elder contemporaries.

Tirumaliśai Āḷvār

This Āḷvār came to be known after the place of his birth, Tirumaḷiśai in Tondaināḍu. There is a mythical origin attributed to his birth. It is said that he was born, as a *pinda* to the sage Bhārgava, and it was cast off by the parents. But it grew into a beautiful baby and attracted the attention of a member of the fourth caste. When he was brought up, the boy showed signs of a jñānī His friend and companion was one Kanikannāi. From early age he gave himself to Yōga practice and spent the best part of his life at the Triplicane shrine. Here he was met by many among whom were the first three Āḷvārs.

One day a burning desire took hold of him to visit some famous shrines After a flying visit to the birthplaces of the first three Āḷvārs, he was on his way to Tirukkudantai (Kumbakonam, Tanjore District) While he was staying at Kaccittiruvetka, he met an aged lady who was serving him, and he transformed her into a young lady. According to the *Divyasūricaritam* this reached the ears of the old king who sent for Tirumaḷiśai to get himself young. The Āḷvār did not respond So orders were issued banishing him from the town When he left the city the Lord enshrined in that place also went with his devotee of devotees On hearing this the king prayed for the return of the Āḷvār.

After performing such miracles the Āḷvār reached Kumbakonam and became engaged in the practice of *yōga* The chief works of the Adiyār are Nānmukan *Tiruvantāti*, and *Tiruccandaviruttam*. Tradition records that he gave up his life at Kumbakonam itself. Before we proceed to examine his writings, mention may be made of one or two facts which throw considerable light on history.

Firstly, Tirumaḷiśai was a younger contemporary of the first three Āḷvārs, Poyhaiyār, Pūtattār and Peyār. There is evidence for this fact that he visited the places of their birth. It is to be assumed that these three attained Heaven some time before Tirumaḷiśai.

Secondly, though the *Divyasūricaritam* does not furnish the name of the king reigning at Kāñci who sent for Tirumaḷiśai, still the *Guruparamparais* suggest with an air of plausibility that he was a Pallava king. A certain *Pāśuram* of the *Nānmukan Tiruvantāti* (93) gives indeed a suggestive hint as to the name of the reigning king. In this *Pāśuram* the Āḷvār addresses Tirumāl as Guṇapparan and students of Pallava history know of a Guṇabhara which was another name for Mahendravarman I.[26] That the Pallava monarchs were known by such titles or rather assumed them out of self-complacency is evident from the inscriptions.[27]

Thirdly, if Mahendravarman was then the king ruling from Kāñci at the time of the visit of the Āḷvār, then we get a definite chronology about the Āḷvār's time. For we know from history that Mahendravarman ruled from *c.* 618 to 642 A.D This means that Tirumaḷiśai flourished during the first half of the seventh century.

Fourthly, if we seek to establish the date of Tirumaḷiśai in the first half of the seventh century though by a single but very valuable testimony, then we shall not be wrong if we assign the first three Āḷvārs to the end of the sixth century A.D. and perhaps to the beginning of the seventh century A.D. They belonged to the reign of Simhaviṣṇu, a Vaiṣṇava by religion. According to inscriptions he is a Paramabhāgavata.[28] This is quite appropriate to Pūtattār's verse beginning with Kaṇmukappe and ending with Manuavarum.

Fifthly, the year 600 A D. may be roughly stated as the time when sectarianism in matters religious came to spread and stay. In this connection if we examine the *Tiruvantātis* of the first three Āḷvārs together with Nānmukan *Tiruvantāti* of Tirumaḷiśai, we clearly see that the first Āḷvārs were not swayed at all by sectarian considerations. They did not make distinction between Hari and Hara. In fact theirs was a conception of one Supreme Being, call it Hari or Hara. They did not, as has been already pointed out, take notice even of the heretical sects of the Jains and the Buddhists. The new sects which had much in common with the orthodox

26 M Srinivasa Aiyangar—*Tamil Studies*, pp 305-6.

27 *SII*, vol. I pp. 1-4.

28 *Ind. Ant*, vol. XV, p, 274.

ones were tolerated generously as in the later days of the Śangam Age. Or a view may be taken that these first Āḷvārs like the first Nāyanmārs were more intent upon the worship of their beloved Lord than upon maintaining by argument or otherwise, the superiority of their God to the gods cherished by others.

Sixthly, Tirumaḷiśai, as has been stated above, represents the link to connect the early Āḷvārs with the later and pronouncedly sectarian ones. Though this Āḷvār is not definitely sectarian in his outlook, he can be said to represent and anticipate the full wave of sectarianism. Does he not burst forth in a *pāśuram*[29] that the Śamaṇas are ignominous, the Bauddhas and the Śaivas small-minded? He wants to make out that the Vaiṣṇava religion is alone the best. If we further proceed to examine *Pāśurams* like 14, 26, and 84, there again we meet with the glorification of Hari and Hari alone at the cost of other sects. A perusal of *Pāśuram* 69 of *Tiruccendaviruttam* will make it more manifest.

In addition to this, we have the testimony of Piṇpaḷakiya Perumāl Jīyar's *Guruparamparai* (p. 10) where it is definitely stated that Tirumaḷiśai examined with a critical eye the Āgama treatises known to the Śakyas, the Śamaṇas and Śankaranār and was not much moved. It is only the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas that brought comfort and solace to his inner spirit. Notwithstanding his intense devotion to the deity of his choice, he cannot be altogether put down as one brimming with sectarian bias and prejudice. The intensity of Tirumaḷiśai's Bhakti is evidenced also by the following tradition. Though, born of a sage, as he was brought up by a member of the fourth caste, he was not admitted into the sacrificial *pandal* in Perumpuliyūr where a certain Vedic sacrifice was being celebrated. Before the priests who treated him with contempt, little knowing that he was a sage and a yogin, he asked his Lord to show His divine form before them in order to make them understand what he was capable of.

It has been sought to identify this Āḷvār of no mean repute with Kuḍamūkkir-bagavar mentioned by the *Yāpparunkalaviruttı*, as one among the sages occupying a rank equal to that of Poyhaiyār and Tirumūlar. The *viruttı* further informs us that he was the author of a treatise entitled *Vāsudevanārcintam*. It has been made out that *cantam* may have turned out to be *cintam*, and *Vāsudevaṇār cantam* may be the same as *Tiruccandam* or *Tiruccandaviruttam*. Examples have been quoted from the *Tiruccanda-*

29 Nānmukaṉ, 6.

viruttam to show how they fit in with the remarks made by the *Yāpparunkalaviruttı* on the *Vāsudevaṇar cintam*, viz., the verses lack a few letters and they are *āndam*. As Kuḍamūkku is Kumbakonam and as our Āḷvār spent the evening of his life there and shuffled off his mortal coil in that very place, it is still more an evidence to identify him with Tirumaḷiśai.[30] If this identification be not accepted, then we have to conclude that there was another sage who went by the name Kuḍamūkkir-bagavan, and whose work was known as *Vāsudevanār cintam*, and that this work is now lost to us.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that tradition credits our Ālvār with a work on astrology. There is a hint of it in a *pāśuram* of his (*Tiruvantāti*, 63). It is not explicit whether he wrote an astrological treatise. For no such work of his is available It may be noted in passing that from Periyavāccānpillai's gloss we can infer that there was an old commentary on *Tiruccandaviruttam* Thus we see that the *Antātis* sung by these four early Āḷvārs form a class apart. As has been said these are classed under *Iyarpa*[31] as distinguished from *Iśaittamiḷ*. In language, style and metre *Antāti-veṇbās* maintain the level of excellence generally attributed to treatises on *Śentamil* Apart from the fact that Pūtattār calls himself Perumtamilan, tradition has styled them Perumtamiḷar Their style marks the last stages of the declining and practically dying Saṅgam style. The literature they inaugurated bids adieu to the Saṅgam classics and makes room for the coming in of the rich store-house of religious literature embodied in the *Tevāram* and *Divyapprabandam*. What this literature is and who are its authors we shall examine on another occasion.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

30 *Aḷvārkālanilai*, p 42 ff

31 *Iyarpa* is that kind of composition which cannot be set to music or *pan* While the writings of other Ālvārs can be set to *pān* and sung as musical pieces, the stanzas which are collected under *Iyarpa* do not admit of being sung as musical pieces. *Iyarpa* is a class of literature that stands apart from the *Iśaippākkaḷ* and *Nāṭakappākkaḷ*

The vaṃśas and gotra-pravara lists of Vedic literature

The ceremonies of the Vedic sacrificial ritual, which form the entire subject-matter of the later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, almost necessarily implied a long succession of teachers through whom they were handed down from the most ancient down to comparatively recent times. It is to the period of the Brāhmaṇas which exhibit the first systematic expositions of the sacrificial ceremonies that we can trace back the oldest genealogical lists (Vaṃśas) of Vedic teachers and their pupils The *Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa* forming a separate branch of the Sāmaveda school has a Vaṃśa consisting of not less than sixty names beginning with a teacher called Vaiśrava and traced back through its last human teacher Kaśyapa to the gods Agni, Indra, Vāyu, Mṛtyu, Prajāpati and Brahman, the Self-existent One [See the list in H Zimmer, *Studien zur Geschichte der Gotras*, pp 31-32 The lists in Max Müller, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Pāṇini Office ed., pp. 233-234, and Weber, *Indische Studien* IV, 371 ff., give fifty-nine names omitting the last name Vaiśrava]. Two separate Vaṃśas are found in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* (III, 40-42 and IV, 16-17) likewise belonging to the Sāmaveda school. One of these has fifty names beginning with Brahman and ending with Vaipaścita Dārḍhajayanti Gupta Lauhityeya, while the other consists of fourteen names only, beginning with Indra and ending with Sudatta Pārāśarya. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, forming the concluding portion of the *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, has two vaṃśas (*Ibid*, II, 6 and IV, 6) of fifty-eight and sixty names respectively, which agree with each other in several parts. The list begins with Pautimāṣya and ends with Brahman [For the two lists in the Kāṇva recension, see Max Muller, tr. of the *Upaniṣads*, Part II, SBE., vol. XV, pp 118-120, 185-188. For comparison with the parallel versions in the Mādhyandina recension as well as for comparison of the two first-named vaṃśas, see *Ibid*, pp. 118-120*n* and pp. 186-187*n*] The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, (VI, 5) has another vaṃśa consisting in the Kāṇva recension of two lists, one of fifty-two names and the other of forty-eight only. These lists of which the first thirty-six have all names ending in metronymics agree with each other up to a teacher called Sāṃjīvīputra beyond whom they diverge into separate branches. [For the list in the Kāṇva recension, see Max Müller, *op. cit*, pp 225-227. For comparison with the Mādhyandina version, see *Ibid*., p. 224*n*. The second list is wanting

in the Mādhyandina text, but a very similar one is found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, X, 6. 5. 9]. This has been plausibly explained [Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 230] on the supposition that Sāṃjīvīputra united two lines of teachers, one of which is traced back through Vāc (the Goddess of speech), Ambhiṇī (the voice of thunder) to Āditya (the sun), while the other is carried back through Prajāpati to Brahman. To illustrate the character of these vaṃśas, it will be sufficient to quote one example, that of the shorter list in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* which we give below in Oertel's translation [*JAOS*, XVI, 1896]:—

"Verily thus Indra told this udgītha of the Gāyatrīsāman, the Upaniṣad, the immortal, to Agastya, Agastya to Iṣa Śyāvāśvi, Iṣa Śyāvāśvi to Gauśūkti, Gauśūkti to Jvālāyana, Jvālāyana to Śātyāyani, Śātyāyani to Rāma Krātujāteya Vaiyāghrapadya, Rāma Krātujāteya Vaiyāghrapadya to Śaṅkha Bābhravya, Śaṅkha Bābhravya to Dakṣa Kātyāyani Ātreya, Dakṣa Kātyāyani Ātreya to Kaṃsa Vārakya, Kaṃsa Vārakya to Suvajña Śāṇḍilya, Suvajña Śāṇḍilya to Jayanta Vārakya, Jayanta Vārakya to Sudatta Pārāśarya."

We may next mention a vaṃśa given at the end of the late *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* of the *Ṛg Veda* [See Appendix to A. B. Keith, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp 327-328, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, Part IX, Oxford 1909]. This consists of eighteen names beginning with Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana and ending with Brahman, the Self-existent One. Lastly, we may refer to the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* of the *Atharva Veda* which opens with a short list of seven teachers beginning with Brahman and ending with Śaunaka Mahāśāla [See SBE., vol. XV, p. 28].

If we have now to judge the historical value of the vaṃśas we must admit at the outset that the highest links in the chain consist of names of deities like Agni, Vāyu, Indra and, last but not the least, Brahman. But the remaining and by far the more considerable portions of these lists consist of human teachers. On general as well as particular grounds the names and succession of human teachers may be accepted as a historical fact. It is now generally admitted that the period of the Brāhmaṇas from the very nature of their subject-matter and the range as well as variety of their literature must have extended over many centuries. [Cf. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, pp 194-195:—"We are compelled to assume a period of several centuries for the origin and propagation of this literature. . The sacrificial science itself requires centuries for its development". Cf. also *Ibid.*, p. 302]. To this must be added the fact that many of the

names of teachers in the main portions of the lists are actually quoted as authorities in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and similar texts. What is more, some of these personages are evidently singled out as taking an outstanding share in the development of the doctrine. [Cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 29*n.*:— "Die Rolle abschliessender Autorität der genannten Personen für die einzelnen Texte ergibt sich aus der Häufigkeit und Art der Anführung ihrer Meinungen, durch die diese als unwidersprochen und endgültig erscheinen." He justifies his statement by the example of Yājñavalkya who is quoted eighteen times in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as compared with nine quotations of the next frequently cited teacher Āruṇi and who twice figures as the last and the most conclusive of a triad of quoted authorities. He also refers to Śātyāyani who is quoted seven times in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* as compared with Baka Dālbhya and Brahmadatta Caikitāneya who come next with two quotations each]. Without therefore going so far as to say with Max Muller [*op. cit.*, p. 229] that "with the exception of the highest links in each chain of teachers the lists have an appearance of authenticity rarely to be met with in Indian compositions", we may state that they certainly reach a high degree of historical probability. It has however not been possible as yet to fit in the long and formidable lists of the vaṃśas into the Vedic chronological scheme

We may pause here to indicate the importance of the part played by the late Brāhmana schools of the *Sāma Veda* and the *Yajur Veda* in the creation of the vaṃśa lists. In the Brāhmanas of the *Ṛg Veda* and the *Atharva Veda*, as in those of the *Sāmaveda* and the *Yajurvedas*, individual teachers are often cited as authorities on various parts of the ritual [Thus as Zimmer, op. cit., p 29*n* points out, Kauṣītaki is cited fourteen times and Paiṅgya nine times in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmana*, while several times *Kauṣītaki* follows *Paiṅgya* in the order of authorities cited. For the references see also Keith, *Ṛg Veda Brāhmanas*, HOS., vol XXV, p. 24n]. But neither the *Aitareya* or the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* belonging to the Ṛg Veda school, nor earlier Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda, nor even the earlier portions of the *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, have preserved vaṃśa lists. It is only in the late Brāhmanas of the *Sāmaveda* and later portions of the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* that the oldest vaṃśas have as yet been found. Probably the growing scepticism about Vedic sacrificial ritual, of which we have indications in the Brāhmanas themselves and which was to culminate in the revolt of Buddhism and Jainism, led the priestly authors of the late Brāhmaṇa texts to justify themselves with the weight of formidable authority going back to the gods.

[For some evidence about disintegration of the Vedic religion in the Brāhmaṇa period, see Keith, *Ṛg Veda Brāhmaṇas*, pp. 25-26].

In the later Vedic texts of the Gṛhyasūtras the lists of Vedic teachers are brought into relation with the domestic ritual. Among the daily duties binding on the Snātaka (would-be householder) and the Gṛhastha (householder) are included bathing and Vedic study. An essential appendage of these ceremonies or of one or other of them is the *tarpaṇa* rite. [For different views of the relation of *tarpaṇa* to bathing and Veda study, see Oldenberg, SBE, vol. XXIX, pp. 120-121*n*, P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, pp. 668, 695]. The *tarpaṇa* consists in satiating deities, sages and manes with offerings of water. To take one example, *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (III. 4. 1-5) begins with a list of thirty-one deities, Prajāpati, Brahman, the Vedas, the Devas, the sages and so forth, to whom the water should be offered by the householder. Then follows a list of sages consisting in the first instance of a group of twelve names which have been identified with those of seers of various maṇḍalas of the *Ṛgveda* Then comes a number of sages including teachers of sūtras, bhāṣyas etc. as well as Kahola, Kauṣītaki, Aitareya, Āśvalāyana and so forth who are teachers well-known to the Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka and related works. [For summary of the above list, see Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 690-91]. Similar, but not identical, lists are found in other Gṛhyasūtras and even in one Dharmasūtra. [See *Śāṅkhayana Gṛhyasūtra*, IV, 9-10, tr SBE., vol. XXIX, pp. 121-123; *Śāmbavya Gṛhyasūtra* quoted, Weber, *Indische Studien* XV, 154, *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhyasūtra*, II, 19, 20, *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, III, 9, *Bharadvāja Gṛhyasūtra*, III, 9-11, also *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, II, 5 etc. For discrepancies between these authorities, see Kane, *op cit.*, pp. 692-693].

A great gulf separates these late lists from the vaṃśas of the Brāhmaṇa texts. In the older lists the human teachers were evidently regarded as historical personages whose names and order of succession it was necessary to record correctly as proof of genuineness of the teaching. In the later accounts the teachers have risen to the rank of semi-divine personages to be venerated along with groups of deities and manes. It was therefore no longer necessary, as the above examples testify, to transmit the names in genealogical succession. The lists in fact consist of a jumble of ancient as well as modern teachers from the remote times of the *Ṛg Veda* to the late period of the sūtras. It is characteristic of the looseness of these later accounts that even the teachers' names are needlessly duplicated. [Cf. the duplications Kauṣītaki and Mahākauṣītaki, Paiṅgya and Mahāpaiṅgya,

Aitareya and Mahaitareya, Audavāhi and Mahaudavāhi—in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya list above referred to].

Next to the vaṃśas and other lists of teachers in the Vedic texts may be mentioned the family genealogies indicated by the terms '*gotra*' and '*pravara*'. These may roughly be translated as 'family' or 'lineage' and as the illustrious ancestor or ancestors who have contributed to the credit of the same. [Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 497, explains the connection between *gotra* and *pravara* as follows.—"*Gotra* is the latest ancestor or one of the latest ancestors of a person by whose name his family has been known for generations, while *pravara* is constituted by the sage or sages who lived in the remotest past, who were most illustrious and who are generally the ancestors of the *gotra* sages or in some cases the remotest ancestor alone."] *Gotra* in its technical sense occurs already in an *Atharva Veda* text (V, 21. 3) where it clearly means 'a group of men connected together by blood'. References to '*pravara* under the name *ārṣeya* and to *pravara* sages are found in some texts of the *Ṛg Veda* (*Ibid*, IX, 97. 51, VIII, 102. 4, I 45. 3 etc.). [Cited in Kane, *op. cit*, pp. 479, 486-87]. Systematic lists of *gotras* and *pravaras*, however, make their appearance only in the late Śrautasūtras, those handy manuals that were composed in late times for dealing with the great mass of the Śrauta sacrifices. [Such lists are found for example in the *Śrautasūtras* of *Āśvalāyana*, Pt. II, VI, 10-15, Bib. Ind. ed., pp. 875-885, *Baudhāyana*, Bib. Ind. ed., vol. III, pp. 415-467, *Āpastamba*, XXIV, 5-10, Bib. Ind. ed., pp. 268 277. Besides the above, Zimmer, *op cit*, p 6, quotes the *Śrauta sūtra* of *Kātyāyana* and *Laugākṣi*, while Kane, *op. cit*, p. 483, cites the *Śrautasūtra* of *Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśi* XXI, which gives the same list as the *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* with a few changes]. By way of illustration we quote below from the excellent work of P. V. Kane, *op cit.*, p. 490, the *gotra* and *pravara* divisions of two of the most renowned families, the Bhṛgus and the Āṅgirasas, as given in these ancient authorities:—

"The Bhṛgus are of two sorts, Jāmadagnya and non-Jāmadagnya. The Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus are again two-fold, Vatsas and Bidas (or Vidas), the non-Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus are five-fold, namely Ārṣṭiṣeṇas, Yāskas, Mitrāyus, Vainyas and Śunakas. Under each of these subdivisions there are many gotras, on the names and numbers of which the Sūtrakāras are not agreed. . These divisions of Bhṛgus are given here according to Baudhāyana. Āpastamba has only six of them, as he excludes Bidas from this group. According to Kātyāyana, Bhṛgus have twelve subdivisions.

"The Āṅgirogaṇa has three divisions, Gautamas, Bharadvājas and

Kevalāṅgirasas; out of whom Gautamas have seven subdivisions, Bharadvājas have four and Kevala-Āṅgirasas have six sub-divisions, and each of these again is subdivided into numerous gotras This is according to Baudhāyana. Other Sūtrakāras differ as to the sub-divisions......"

The gotras and pravaras were intimately connected with the social and religious system of the Vedic Aryans from an early period. To take a few examples, marriage was forbidden not only within the same gotra but also within the same pravara. As regards inheritance, property of a person dying without issue was vested in his near sagotras. Consecration of the domestic fire was preceded by invocation of one's gotra and pravara ancestors. In the ceremonies of tonsure and investiture with the sacred thread, there were minute differences of detail according to different gotras and pravaras of the boy's family. [For details and references, see Max Muller, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-204, Kane, *op cit*, pp. 481-483 and p. 491]. It might therefore be thought that the genuineness of these lists was beyond question Unfortunately the Śrautasūtras which are our primary sources contradict themselves not only as regards numbers of gotras but also the names, numbers and order of succession within the same gotra. [For a number of striking examples see Kane, *op cit*, pp. 489-490, 495] From this it appears that there was no unanimity even as regards the number of original gotras. In the appendix of his work (pp 1263-1266), Kane, while giving after Baudhāyana a classified list of forty-nine pravara groups and the gotras among which they are distributed, notices some striking divergences in the lists of Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba and Satyāṣadha. In his German translation of *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra*, Caland gives (*Ibid*, vol. III, pp. 409-411), as an appendix to the pravarādhyāya, parallel lists of Ṛṣi genealogies from Āpastamba and Baudhāyana. When Zimmer, *op cit*, pp. 6-7, says with regard to these lists, "Dass sie sich widersprechen oder denselben Namen in mehreren Gruppen bieten, kommt nur vereinzelt vor," we must accept his view with great modifications. Even Purusottama, author of the *Pravaramañjarī* which is the leading authority on the subject in later times, is quite emphatic about the discrepancies. [See Kane, *op. cit*, p 483]. It would seem that a very long interval separated the beginnings of the gotra and pravara divisions from their systematic arrangement in the Śrautasūtras. Whatever that may be, we may safely conclude that these old genealogical lists have a substratum of historical reality.

U. N. Ghoshal

Amāvāsyā

IN MYTHICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT[1]

Mythical, i.e. essentially symbolical, thinking is never dissociated from the sources of philosophy. The clear-cut line of separation, assumed by historians of philosophy as a working hypothesis for the sake of establishing an absolute beginning, is not applicable with any degree of exactitude even to the early ages of Western speculative thinking. Less than anywhere else can it be applied to early Indian thought, which did not groove itself for many centuries (and eventually did so only in few instances) into the rut of sheer intellectual abstractions, where speculation, severed from the live springs of creative vision, soon starts its dreary circle round itself. Here, it would not be exact even to speak of a period of transition from mythology to philosophy, since the beginning of the latter by no means coincides with a decline of the former, but with its revival in novel forms with unprecedented vigour of vision On the other hand, the mythical hypostases in time crystallizing into speculative principles by no means become abstract concepts but retain all the symbolic concreteness of their origins and in their implications unceasingly point back to the specific entities which are their prototypes.

In the very midst of a period of ancient Indian thought which, owing to its general characteristic, the synthesis of cosmical and personal elements, may be aptly called mythical, a revolution takes place which carries in its wake a revaluation of all accepted values and actually constitutes a new starting-point, if ever there was one in the history of human thinking The limit thus marked is however not a watershed between the mythical and the abstract, nor even between utterly distinct complexes of notions, but essentially between two trends of vision Under the impact of a new-found psychical datum, which powerfully invests and permeates all the pre-existing conceptions, the mythical vision shifts its centre of gravity from the cosmological to the psychological pole, the purport of the older hypostases and categories, as well as their configuration, are fundamentally transformed They are the same and yet altogether new. Beyond the familiar aspect of their attributes

1 Paper presented at the XIth All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad-Dn, December 1941.

and their mutual relations dawn unsuspected horizons of mystic meanings—unlimited withinward horizons On the canvas of the old myths is projected a new mythology of psychical processes, and at the same time a philosophy, which in the age-long evolutions of its message never sheds that specific colouring of psychological concreteness and cosmical significance.

Besides my extensive essay in a history, on genetic lines, of this multiple current of philosophical thought in ancient India (*Il Mito Psicologico nell'India Antica*, first written in 1929-30, but published only in 1939[2]), I have devoted some short studies to the treatment of items which did not enter into the complex survey, mainly to the history of individual motifs typifying that peculiar continuity between the older period of ancient Indian, but not as yet exclusively Indian, mythical notions and the subsequent era of that characteristic coalescence of myth and speculation which is the earliest stage of specifically Indian philosophy It is due to the nature of the subject, to the ultimate coherence of these items in the ideological whole, that in such a series of separate studies some extent of overlapping of data cannot be avoided, to save repetitions without curtailing the special context of indispensable references, I have chosen the course of briefly re-stating, as far as required, the points already treated elsewhere

The subject of the following pages is the unnoticed mythical motif concerning the marriage of a feminine deity called Sūryā. This name evokes in the first place the well-known Sūryāsūkta, which at some period previous to the redaction of the Xth Mandala of the *Ṛg Veda* was made into a marriage-hymn out of a pre-existing shorter composition describing the marriage of Sūryā Whom did S marry according to that text? The stanzas 8 and 14-15 quite unequivocally imply that the Aśvins were her two suitors, this is only one of the numerous passages referring to Sūryā's nuptials with the two Aśvins. By far the greatest number of references to S 's marriage mention the two Aśvins as her bridegrooms whom she chose at her svayamvara (cf. esp. I, 119, 2 and 5, VI, 63, 5, VIII, 22, 1; I, 116, 17, IV, 43, 2 and 6). All such passages agree in asserting that she chose them both; this strange feature is obviously accounted for by the fact that the myth has its origin in the archaic matriarchal structure of society, to

[2] *Memoria d Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, 450 pp, with Index also of current hypostases

whose institutions go back the custom of polyandry as well as that of the svayaṃvara. The figure of Sūryā herself is evidently in Ṛgvedic notions an exponent of the last-mentioned custom, for in I, 167, 5 she is referred to as the prototype of the woman marrying by svayaṃvara it is said that Rodasī acted "like Sūryā".

With their swift three-wheeled car the Aśvins won the race of the gods competing for Sūryā's hand (VI, 63, 5) and she mounted on their car. But the Sūryāsūkta tells us in this same connexion that one of their wheels disappeared when they approached Sūryā (X, 85, 15), and implies that they stood at a particular point of space when they obtained her. What were the three wheels of the Aśvins' car? The twin gods are most frequently said to come at early dawn, but this is not the only time of their coming: the express statement repeatedly occurs that they are invoked both in the morning and in the evening (VIII, 22, 14, X, 39, 1, 40, 4) Once it is said that they come also at noon (V, 76, 3). It remains undecided what specific natural phenomenon they were supposed to represent, but their connexion with the transition between light and darkness is certain. They may thus have been meant to represent the morning and the evening star—as they are said to have been born separately (*nānā jātau*, V, 73, 4)—or simply the two moments of transition between day and night. Their path is red or golden (*rudravartanī, hiranyavartanī*)—it is dawn and sunset Their car runs also by day and by night—since it is said to move round the whole of the sky (I, 180, 10), to cover the whole expanse of heaven in its course (IV, 43, 5), to compass heaven and earth in one day (III, 58, 8), but at those times it is not seen In its nightly course it separates the extreme points of heaven (the limit of the west from that of the east), and at that time Sūryā enfolds the Aśvins' brightness (VII, 69, 3 and 4). The other, more obvious, moment of their marriage with Sūryā is when they cross the path of the sun at the zenith this was when S. mounted on their car, and when the third, the middle or noontide wheel of that car disappeared, according to the 15th st. of the Sūryāsūkta, or was promptly arrested, according to the 3rd st. of the hymn V, 73: "one beautiful wheel you promptly arrested for the sake of the beauty (of S.), whereas round the other spheres you fly powerfully". The 5th st. of the same hymn explains that, when Sūryā mounted on their ever swift-running car, they were encompassed by the flaming rays of the sun's glow. The wheel of the Sun, of the flaming Sūryā, absorbed the wheel of the

Aśvins, made it disappear in its rays. So these nuptials are represented as an absorption of the husbands in the wife. this again seems to point to the notions of a matriarchal society, where the husband was socially absorbed by the wife.

Already this introductory evidence leaves little margin for doubt that the maiden Sūryā was originally a personification of the sun But in a number of passages, including some stanzas of the Sūryāsūkta, she is introduced as the daughter of the sun-god Sūrya. It appears however that such was not her original relation to Sūrya, the youngest of the Ādityas. A contemporary scholar[3] has pointed out the fact that Aditi is closely connected with the Aśvins as the sole deity sharing their attribute, the *madhukaśā*, and that in this context she is the correlative of the archaic Mother Goddess probably represented on a seal of Mohenjo Daro with her two theriomorphous acolytes, and occurring also in other archaic mythological representations of the Indo-Aegean zone, i.e. as Helena with the Dioskouroi, the correlatives of the Aśvinau. The feminine *Sūrā* does not occur in the *RV* along with *Sūra*, the rarely used synonym of *Sūrya*, but it occurs in the *Avesta* as one of the names of the goddess Ardvī-Sūrā-Anāhitā, and if the etymological equation Anāhitā = Aditi[4] is right, it completes the evidence of the identity of the ancient female light-goddess Sūrā or Sūryā with Aditi If Aditi and Sūryā were equivalent personifications of the ancient Mother Goddess, then Sūryā could have been originally in any case only the mother of the sun-god But Sūrya is a late-comer amongst the Ādityas he, the eighth and last-born son of Aditi, the Mārtāṇḍa, was not even at once admitted amongst the gods, but was cast away by his mother (according to X, 72, 8 9). Thus it seems that the sun-*god* was introduced only at a comparatively later period of ancient Vedic mythology

When the god Sūrya was introduced as the paramount personification of the sun, Sūryā was relegated to the background, but she could not be suppressed altogether, as her image was too deeply rooted in ancient mythological conceptions. Some relation or other had to be established between the two, and so she was made into Sūrya's daughter One portion at least, the less prominent portion of her previous character, was left to her.

3 J Przyluski, 'Les Aśvin et la Grande Déesse', *Harvard Journal of Oriental Studies*, April 1936, pp. 129ff

4 Przyluski, 'The Great Goddess in India and Iran', *IHQ*, September 1934, p 413f

According to Ṛgvedic beliefs, the sunlight travels during the night in the yonder, hidden sphere of the hypercosmic ocean towards east, and from there appears again in the *pārthivaṃ rajas*. In yonder *uttamam* or *paramaṃ rajas* light is that which to us is darkness. "On the black path (on the path of night) the black birds (the sun-rays which are now dark) fly up to heaven: they had come hither from the seat of *ṛta*", says the 47th st. of the famous Vāc-hymn I, 164. A notion preserved in the 16th st. of the Sūryāsūkta shows that the sun-goddess Sūryā was once held to have two wheels moving alternatingly, one of which is hidden and known only to the wise. It is obviously the sun's course at night. When the figure of Sūryā was superseded by the masculine personification of the visible phenomenon of the sun, the portion left to her seems to have been that invisible portion of the sun's course at night The st I, 115, 5 says: "other is *his* (Sūrya's) infinite shining light, other the dark one which the (sun-) steeds draw", it is no longer the light of Sūryā to him belongs only the sunlight which rises for us, as another st confirms (X, 37, 3cd)—*prācīnam a n y a d anu vartate raja ud a n y e n a jyotisā yāsi sūrya!*

The fact of Sūryā being the nocturnal, hypercosmic, sun explains the conception underlying the amāvasyā myth, the myth of the nuptials between the Sun and the Moon, which is the central item of the Sūryāsūkta

Vedic authors appear to have had quite definite ideas about the fact that the light of the moon is derived from the sun (see IX, 71, 9b *adbi tviṣir adhita sūryasya*, where the context shows that it is the moon that is meant; also V, 47, 3b and cf. this with IX, 71, 2c), and ascribed originally the waning of the moon to her being absorbed again by the sun (X, 138, 4c *māseva sūryo vasu puryam ā dade*, and X, 55, 5), this was before the identification with the soma-juice afforded the explanation that the moon is being drunk up by the gods But this second explanation did not eliminate the first both in the later *ṚV*. and in post-Vedic literature they exist side by side. In the moonless night the moon is completely swallowed up by the sun. Obviously not by the diurnal sun, but by the nocturnal. The hymn X, 55 speaks first of the sun hidden away in the distant region (that is to say in the hypercosmic *rajas*) whose pre-existent light Indra caused to rise for our cosmos (cf. X, 171, 4 *tvam tyam indra sūryam paścā santam puraskṛdhi*)—and then, in st. 5, it speaks of the swallowing of the moon by the sun · *vidhum dadrāṇam samane bahūnām yuvānam santam palito jagāra /devasya paśya kāvyam mahitvādya mamāra sa hyah samāna*). The

hymn I, 144 contains an early reference to the amāvāsyā notion, in st. 4: . .*dvā savayasa...samāne yonā mithunā samokasā/divā na naktam palito yuvājani purū carann ajaro manuṣā yugā* This notion of the moon's nuptials with the sun underlies the myth of Soma s nuptials with Sūryā as related in the Sūryāsūkta, the verse (X, 85, 18) describing sun and moon as a couple, in notable parallelism to I, 144, 4, occurs in the sequel of the stanza concerning Sūryā's hidden wheel.[5]

The stanzas 14-15 of the Sūryāsūkta represent the older nucleus of the Sūryā-Aśvinau myth, on which the Sūryā-Soma myth, occupying the greater portion of the original hymn, has been superimposed. The novelty of its conception at the time of the composition of the hymn is still obvious in the polemical turn of the 9th st., stressing with unexpected emphasis that it was Soma who sought the bride, while the Aśvins were only the groomsmen (and therewith changing the quite unequivocal meaning of the term *vara*, as recurrent in st 14 in connexion with the inf *vareyam* of st. 15) Our hymn represents also the first definite evidence of the identification of Soma with the moon, which was apparently a novelty as well, being described as a secret known only to the Brāhmanas. This might provide an element for the dating of the Amāvāsyā myth, but it is certainly not its prior age-limit In fact, before appearing under the name of Soma, the Moon as the suitor of Sūryā appears under the name of Pūṣan. The 4th st. of the hymn VI, 58 says that Pūsan of glorious brilliance, being impelled by love, was given by the gods to Sūryā—and the context makes it clear that the idea referred to is that of amāvāsyā, the nuptials of the Moon with the Sun in fact the 1st st. says of Pūsan *śukram te anyad yajatam te anyad viṣurūpe ahanī* "one of thy two contrasting days is bright, the other is venerable" (namely the day of amāvāsyā, when he is honoured as the spouse of the sun), and the 2nd st. incidentally explains why he is particularly honoured on that day *bhuvane viśve arpitah*, because he has penetrated into the whole of nature (thus whole of nature being obviously represented by

5 An evidence that the author of the stanzas on Sūryā's and Soma's marriage actually had in his mind the concrete idea of an amāvāsyā night is the location of the bridal procession at the two naksatras *arjuni*, which is that called in *AV* XIV, 1, 13 and in *Sat Br* II, 1, 11, 2 *phālguni*, and *aghās*, which is the constellation usually called *maghā* according to the ancient work *Sūrapaññatti* (cf *Ind Studien*, X, p 292), both together define the *praustbapadī* amāvāsyā.

the Mother Goddess Sūryā). The name Pūṣan occurs also in the Sūryā-sūkta, concurrently with the name Soma, and in one of the later stanzas, relating to the marriage-ceremony, Pūṣan is named as the prototype of the bridegroom. But, curiously enough, he is mentioned also in one of the stanzas of the oldest nucleus (14), where the bridegrooms of Sūryā are the Aśvins: all the gods applauded the marriage of Sūryā to the Aśvins, and Pūṣan as the son chose them to be his fathers. So according to this older version of the myth Sūryā is not the bride but the mother of Pūṣan; and this explains the singular turn of thought in the 5th st of the hymn VI, 55 where Pūṣan is said to be the wooer of his mother. It is obviously a synthesis resulting from the superimposition of the younger notion, that Pūṣan as the Moon marries Sūryā, on the pair of older notions that the Aśvins marry her and that the light of the moon is born from the sun. (As the Sūryāsūkta contains both the versions of the myth of Sūryā's marriage, it apparently conciliates them by assuming that the two events belong to successive ages—a mythical rendering of the fact that the relevant conceptions were evolved in successive periods).

The Sūryāsūkta already explains the progressive waning of the moon by the idea that its substance, Soma, is eaten by the gods, nevertheless, the total disappearance of the moon is obviously understood here in the sense of the amāvāsyā myth which is at the centre of the actual hymn, and which is explained in the other relevant passages as the absorption of the Moon in the Sun. One of these contexts, as we have seen, voices the idea that on the amāvāsyā night the moon is absorbed in the totality of Being—and here we already see the outset of philosophical speculation in close contiguity with the myth—and with a very archaic myth at that, since its underlying conception of the husband being given to, and absorbed in the wife goes back to a period familiar with matriarchal institutions. In the contiguity of these two ideologies their connexion is easily detected: Sūryā, the ancient Mother Goddess, is already implicitly conceived as the all-deity, as the personification of universal being. The same fact is amply observable with regard to the other personifications of the Mother Goddess, with regard to Aditi who, especially in the AV., is celebrated as the all of nature and of being, past, present, and future, and even more so with regard to Virāj, the personification of the heavenly hypercosmic ocean, identified with Vāc, the divine *logos*, one quarter of whom was uttered and dispersed into the whole of creation, while the remaining three quarters

abide in the original supernal sphere. From the 6th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th and 12th stanzas of the Sūryāsūkta it can be clearly seen that Sūryā, too, is identified with Vāc: "The bride was she who is uttered by the singers, she who is connected with *narāśamsa*, Sūryā's beautiful garment was prepared by song", "Thought was her pillow", "Manas was her carriage" whose bulls were "harnessed by Ṛc and Sāman", whose "wheels were hearing", while "*vyāna* was fixed as axle" in that "car made of manas".

The fact that Sūryā, from whom derives the song-inspiring essence of soma—of Soma who is *vāco jantus* (IX, 67, 13) but also *patir vācas* (IX, 26, 4, or *vacas pati* IX, 101, 5)—the fact that Sūryā is identified with Vāc, explains her connection with the Gandharva, who in a late stanza of the Sūryāsūkta is introduced as Sūryā's husband in the second place after Soma The Brāhmaṇa-legend of Soma, the Gandharvas and Vāc is well known · the Soma was bought from the Gandharva at the price of the goddess Vāc (*Ait Br*, I, 27, *Taitt Saṃh*, VI, 1, 6, 5, *Maitr Saṃh*, III, 7, 3) Less known is its earlier, Ṛgvedic, background, where the Gandharva is as yet only one. I have treated in detail this subject elsewhere, and may therefore limit myself here to a summary exposition. The original, primordial abode of the Gandharva is the hypercosmic sphere beyond the vault of the sky (X, 123, 7)—the supernal ocean that, as we have seen, is Virāj, identified with Vāc. Therefore he is said to be the knower of the immortal *namani* (the mortal nāmāni being the noumenic essences of the manifold creation). In his connection with the supernal ocean he is also conceived as the guardian of the seat of Soma he has been vanquished by Indra who has rent open his body (here the Gandharva's parallelism with Vṛtra becomes apparent) and thus made the sun light appear. This ideology is bound up with the other, noted above (p 30), concerning Indra's feat of bringing to the nether world the light of the sun, which was primarily hidden in the hypercosmic sphere. Thus we see that the Gandharva is connected with the primordial nocturnal Sun. The vanquished G. has been brought down in the streams of soma, and now inhabits the lower sphere of the earthly rajas, where he has the function of producing life, more particularly human life thus "the Gandharva utters Vāc in the womb of the mother", that is to say, produces the *nāman* of the being which is to be born According to the *AV* (V, 1, 2), this "creator who had seen the unuttered Vāc" (namely the hypercosmic Vāc) has been the first to enter a mother's womb.

The later popular conception of the Gandharva as bearer of the individual life-essence is in the same line. Nor yet is the half mythical, half philosophical conception of the Gandharva aspiring to the maiden Sūryā as towards the essence of Immortality confined to Vedic literature. Suffice it to recall in this context the poetical scene of the *Sakkapañhasuttanta*, where the Gandhabba Pañcaśikha accompanies with his love-song the Bodhisattva's meditation leading to bodhi:

Sakkaputto vā jhānena ekodi nipako sato
amataṃ muni jigimsāno tam ahaṃ Suriyavaccase/
yathā pi muni nandeyya patvā sambodhim uttamam
evaṃ nandeyya kalyani missībhāvaṃ gato tayā// (*DN* II, p 267).

The Sun-maiden is still treated as the symbol of the amṛta, of the uttama sambodhi[6] Pañcaśikha is said to be the visible appearance of god Brahmā (*DN* II, p. 211)—and it is Brahmā who after the bodhi persuades the Buddha to "open the gates of the Immortal", to preach the saving doctrine. Pañcaśikha's song symbolically expresses the yearning of the nether life to return to the supernal sphere of the Immortal

(The underlying ideology persists in Mahāyānic thought, it is voiced—to quote one of many instances—in the stanza IX, 46 of the *Mahayāna-sūtrālaṃkāra*, describing the final enlightenment as *maithunasya parāvṛtti*, "the Return (to the sphere of Nirvāna) of the nuptials", being "the attainment of the supernal omnipresence in the state of beautitude of the Buddhas, in the pure vision of the Bride", i.e , of the transcendent Tathatā, Prajñā or Bodhi, Mother of the Bodhisattvas (II, 5), and spouse of the Buddhas. The Gandharva Pañcāśikha is now the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who enunciates the teaching of the path towards Bodhi.[7])

The Ṛgvedic Gandharva was primarily wedded to the hypercosmic Sūryā—the original, immortal abode of soma—, and the wedding of King Soma, who was derived from the Gandharva, to Sūryā—in other words the return of the moon to the hypercosmic sphere of the nocturnal sun—is the

6 This symbolical motif seems to have been very popular in Buddhist circles, as may be gathered from the figurations on the bas-reliefs of the Buddhist cave-temples at Aurangabad (note the recurrent representations of the female personage with the archaic characteristics of the Mother Goddess (hair attired in the likeness of the leafy branches of a tree; pair of acolytes, sun-disc, very clearly visible in one representation).

7 Cf *Il Mito Psicologico*, pp 279f, 340f

happy ending of the Gandharva's drama, so tragically started. Soma's dying is not a death, for he is actually re-born through his union with Sūryā. This implicit idea may be taken as a foreshadowing of the myth which underlies the legend of Satyavat and Sāvitrī. Sāvitrī marries Satyavat by svayaṃvara—that is to say, "like Sūryā", as the aforementioned *ṚV.* hymn says of Rodasī—, although she knows that his early death is decreed by divine law. But she has the power of bringing him to life again, she reconquers him from the grasp of Death who has never given up any other mortal, for she prevails over Yama by the divine power of truthful Speech, by the satyavākya. This is a legendary rendering of the fact that in the underlying myth Sāvitrī—or Gāyatrī—is herself divine Speech, Vāc. Her power is the essence of satya. Now the Vth Adhyāya (14th Br.) of the *Bṛhadāranyakopaniṣad* teaches us that Gāyatrī's own abode is her *turīyam darśatam padam*, namely, that sun which shines beyond the world (that is, above that rajas which is the place of Sūrya-Āditya): *parorajā ya eṣa tapati*. And our text goes on to say that this is the sphere of satya.

Soma is satyavat, because his essence consists of the supernal satya-essence of Sūryā. When he wanes by divine law he cannot really die, for his spouse brings him to life again while he rests in her lap, as the Epic legend beautifully and significantly narrates. The archaic outline of the myth connecting soma with Sāvitrī-Gāyatrī is still preserved in an incidental reference of the *Śat. Br.* (where of course the context uses it for quite extraneous exegetical purposes): it is Gāyatrī who carries off the soma (cf. III, 9, 4, 10).

That myth is undoubtedly very ancient, as its kinship with several other myths relating to the Mother Goddess in the vast Indo-Aegean area of religions is apparent, a.o. with that of Isis who brings back to life the dead Osiris in the form of Horos.

At the stage of thought where this myth originates Vāc-Sāvitrī is still the Goddess of universal life, and also the personification of the hypercosmic nocturnal Sun. But at this stage, dated by the earliest Upaniṣads, she is even more: in the *Chāndogyop.* (III, 12, 5ff.) she is presented as the universal brahman equated with the female aspect of the Universal Puruṣa, whose one quarter, according to the st. of the Puruṣasūkta quoted in this connexion, are all the mortal beings, while his three quarters are immortal in the supernal sphere. This sphere of the brahman is the *ākāśa* equated with the *hṛdākāśa*, and this is the Static Fullness (*pūrṇam apravarti*).

According to a previous passage of this text (III, 5) the Brahman is the flower of the Sunrays upwardbound, that is, of the nocturnal sun. Its essence is the quintessence of the amṛta (*pañcamam amṛtam* or *amṛtānām amṛtāni*). By virtue of this amṛta the sun, at the end of its north-south cycle or age, will finally rise only in the upward direction (that is during the earthly night), and henceforth neither rise nor set any longer but remain static. The "śloka" quoted in this connexion implies that this final issue is *satya*, the *brahman*. The meaning is evidently that in this final nocturnal rise of the sun the nether reality of Gāyatrī, her one quarter, the manifold world, will be reintegrated in the hypercosmic static whole, the *pūrṇam apravarti*.

We see how philosophical thinking has taken possession of the ancient mythical figure of the Sun-goddess; we shall shortly see, in similar contexts, how it takes possession of the myth of her marriage, of the amāvāsyā myth.

A hymn of the IXth Maṇḍala (113), which already identifies Soma with the Moon, calling him the husband of the skyey regions, says that Soma was generated *ṛtavākena satyena śraddhayā tapasā* (2), that he was brought by the Daughter of the Sun, that he was received by the Gandharvas who put in him *rasa* (meaning probably the liquid soma) (3) The expression *ṛtavākena satyena* is reminiscent of the Sāvitrī-myth, and corroborates the evidence that Sāvitrī is Sūryā. But the expression *śraddhayā tapasā* vividly recalls the wording of the Upaniṣadic doctrine of *pitryāna* and *devayāna* *te ya evam etad vidur ye cāmī araṇye śraddhām satyam upāsate* (*Bṛh Ār. U*, VI, 2, 15), *tad ya ittham vidur ye ceme 'raṇye śraddhā tapa ity upāsate* (*Ch U*, V, 10, 9, secondary version) and (*Muṇḍ U.*, I, 2, 11) *tapaḥśraddhe ye hy upavasanty araṇye sūrya-dvareṇa te virajāḥ prayānti yatrāmṛtaḥ puruṣo hy avyayātmā*. The posthumous way of these leads to the sun and to Brahmaloka, the supreme hypercosmic sphere, whereas those whose life is centred in ritual acts rise only as far as the moon, to make up the moon's life-essence, which is eaten by the gods. Hence they come back to earth through the rain[8].

8 The two yānas are marked respectively by the two *pakṣas* of the moon cycle: the devayāna by the pakṣa of her waxing, which is determined by the influx of, and connexion with the hypercosmic light, the pitryāna by her waning, determined by the descent of the light-essence into the nether life The corresponding "northward" and "southward" periods of the solar year are figured in this context in analogy to the old conception of the "upward" way of the sunlight (from the

This shows that *śraddhā*, inasmuch as she is the mystic śraddhā of Upaniṣadic wisdom, conditions the union with the hypercosmic Sūryā Already the Ṛgvedic passage implies that Śraddhā is Sūryā, and a passage of the *Śat. Br.* confirms it Śraddhā is the Daughter of the Sun (XII, 7, 3, 1). In the Upaniṣads she has become the soteric entity, who delivers from Saṃsāra inasmuch as she is the secret wisdom of the Upaniṣad (note that the *Ch. U.* says, in the Ist Adhy., *śraddhayā upaniṣadā*). As Sāvitrī she delivers from death", and the same she does as Śraddhā, according to the Upaniṣadic version of the Naciketas legend, which also narrates the mystery of the descent to the realm of death and the miracle of the return to life after the yogic attainment of the supreme Upaniṣadic wisdom, which is death and birth simultaneously, *yogo hi prabhavāpyayau* Inspired by śraddhā, Naciketas despises the posthumous worlds which can be won by ritual work, and by his steadfastness wrenches from Mṛtyu the secret of the *mahān sāmparāya*, of the realm of the transcendent ātman, of the

nether sphere of the day to the yonder sphere of the night) and the converse "downward' way (from night to day)

Thus both the yānas lead through the moon but with different orientations The pitṛyāna follows the moon's nether cyclic destiny, whereas the devayana mystically overcomes it by the definitive upward impulse of the Upaniṣadic wisdom Thus the *Kauṣītaki U* (I) states that the moon is the door to the heavenly world, and explains this function as follows he who is able to give the right answer to the moon's questions is allowed to pass, while he who is ignorant of the mystery implied in the two questions is sent down through the rain to any form of nether existence The secret wisdom consists in the awareness that the ultimate origin of both the moon's and the man's life is the infinite hypercosmic Light (*vicakṣaṇa, bhā, amitabhā*) which was brought down to earth through the 'paternal essence" of the moon which is generated in the 15 (kalās of the waxing pakṣa) as such, i e as offspring and likeness of the moon, man is born and re born by the agency of the twelve-fold or thirteen fold lunar year The initiated one however knows not only the way of his original descent, but also the opposite way of the final return (*sam tad vide prati tad vide 'ham*), by the force of this *satyam tapas* (i e by the *tapas*=*śraddhā*=*satya* mentioned in the three texts on the yānas) the moon is urged to direct him upwards, to the sphere of the Immortal on the path of the moon's own secret immortality—since the initiated, who is aware of his supernal origin, has now established his identity with the moon (*tvam asmīti*) also in her immortal aspect

9 As Śraddhā she is also the giver of immortality according to the Brāhmaṇa doctrine Here she is identified with Ilā, who is also=Vāc Already in the *ṚV* Pūṣan is called *iḍás pátis*, in the Paurānic mythology Idā the Daughter of the Sun, marries Budha, the Son of the Moon

universal hypercosmic light which shines beyond the sun and all the other lights of the world. Naciketas, "he who did not shine" or "appear"[10], dwelt three nights with death and came back at the end of that time with the possession of true immortality through mystic union—like the moon, which does not shine or appear for three nights from amāvāsyā, but during that time wins 'his' secret immortality through 'his' union with Sūryā—or Śraddhā.[11]

The Upaniṣadic pañcāgnividyā teaches that Śraddhā is the essence of the oblation in the yonder world, whence is born King Soma, who after four transformations appears in the form of the human individual. When this individual dies, out of the cremation-fire he is born in a light-shape (*puruṣo bhāsvaravarnaḥ*). If in life he has chosen Śraddhā-satya as his lot, then he follows the devayāna to final immortality, he returns to his transcendent fountainhead, to Śraddhā as the hypercosmic Vāc.

Vāc, the All-Goddess, as the saving deity—Vāc, divine wisdom, who transports her lover, the knower of the transcendent mysteries (as such he is often called Vena, with an ancient epithet of the Gandharva), to her hypercosmic abode where he becomes the All-Puruṣa in the indissoluble unity with her: I have repeatedly shown that this conception is familiar to, and amply elaborated in, the later portion of the *RV*, as well as in the *AV* Sūryā-Śraddhā-Vidyā is another personification of this mystic deity. But of all its names—Aditi, Vāc, Virāj, Śraddhā etc., Sūryā is the only one which no longer appears in these highly speculative contexts. One of the *leit-motivs* of this new psychological mythology accounts for the significant omission In fact the vision of this female deity now centres no longer in the values of the manifold life of which she is the fountainhead, but in the transcendent unity of this fountainhead itself, whose true realm is beyond the cosmos and whose reality, ever contrasting with the cosmic becoming, can be actualized in the inmost depths of the human heart when all its differentiated experience is eliminated, when its faculty of cognition is expanded and superlated so as to embrace the whole of being in the unity of all-consciousness. This transfiguration, brought about in the human

10 *cikcta* as perf of *cit* "shine", "appear", occurs repeatedly in the *ṚV*

11 According to the Brāhmana-legend the Soma brought by Suparṇi-Vāk through Gāyatrī was stolen by *sāmi*-Gandharva Viśvāvasu—*sa tisro rātrir upabṛto 'vasat* (*M Saṃh* III, 7, 3)

mind by the soteric power of Vāc-Virāj, divine consciousness—and fulfilled in the psychic exercise already called *yoga* (in fact represented by the oldest, Vedic, form of Yoga, as I have repeatedly shown)—this psychic transfiguration is at the same time a cosmic elevation, an ascension beyond the nether world to the hypercosmic sphere of the unuttered, "total" Vāc, a reintegration of being into its totality, a re-absorption into the transcendent fountainhead. This mystic reality is now being constantly and emphatically contrasted with the solar realm of multiplicity in cosmic manifestation and psychic experience—the sun is now evaluated as the antagonist of this unique object of the new aspiration. It is the solar connotation of the name of Sūryā that stands in the way of its sharing the new career of the divine hypostasis which it designated. But the continuity is nevertheless maintained. In fact, the conception of the hypercosmic abode of the all-deity which, as the relevant texts insistently state, is revealed when the cosmic light of the sun has set—this conception is obviously the direct, though now mystically speculative, continuation of the ancient mythical conception of the hypercosmic abode of Sūryā as the nocturnal sun. Moreover, the omission of the name Sūryā is largely offset by the vogue of its equivalents—not only *Virāj*, "the Radiant", but also and more particularly *Rocanā*, which appears in one of the earliest Vedic yoga-texts, the 189th hymn of the Xth Mandala. When the Sun-bull has stepped forth, when he illumines the sky, Rocanā moves in the depths of the human being, where she recedes by the same breath by which he proceeds forth. But she, *Vāc*, radiates her light in the thirty (hypercosmic spheres) (*trimśad dhāma vi rājati vāk*: this is a particular evidence of the identity of Rocanā, Virāj and Vāc), so that it is day a long time before morning (obviously in the hypercosmic spheres illumined by Rocanā's light which for our world is darkness).

We have seen that the dark portion of the moon, his invisible amāvāsyā portion, was held forth in the Ṛgvedic conception as the venerable one in opposition and in preference to the moon's luminous aspect, which is mortal. This dark aspect, which persists alone when the bright aspect has waned, is the warrant of Soma's immortality in 'his' apparently mortal life. We have also noted that the final version of this myth relating to the moon resulted from a synthesis of the idea that 'he' is being consumed by the gods and the conception that 'he' is being reabsorbed by the sun, to the effect that 'his' bright phase are the food of the gods, while the amāvāsyā portion

is the spouse of Sūryā or the All-life. Hence, the doctrine of the sixteen parts of the moon, which is speculatively elaborated in the *Bṛh. Ār. U.*, (I, 5, 13-14) through the identification of the Moon with prāṇa-Prajāpati. "His fifteen kalās become apparent in the fifteen nights through which the Moon alternately waxes and wanes, but the permanent (*dhruvā*) kalā is the sixteenth; in the amāvāsyā night he penetrates with this sixteenth portion of his into the all of life, therefore in that night no life should be killed, out of reverence for this deity"—namely for that particularly venerable aspect of the Moon which is life in its divine, immortal form, as we already know from the Ṛgvedic passage. But in the Upaniṣadic context the old mythical ideology, now referred to the principle of human existence, is translated to a highly speculative purport: in the man who is initiated to mystic wisdom the unmanifest sixteenth kalā is the ātman. There is another version of this teaching, in the same Adhy. of the *Bṛh Ār U* (4, 15), analogous in purport though differently formulated. The ātman is intimately present in every part and function of the organism, but he cannot be apprehended in them, for inasmuch as he is immanent in this differentiated aspect of existence he is not the whole; therefore one should not seek to realize him in any of the several functions, but only as ātman—in that aspect of existence in which the manifold complex of experience is integrated into the unity of the whole of being.

Among the Upaniṣadic texts concerning the *soḍaśakāla puruṣa*, that of the *Praśnop.* (Vth *pr*.) still preserves more or less distinctly the original import. Out of the intimate unmanifest Puruṣa the sixteen parts of reality have arisen. But for the man who attains the state of universal vision the sixteen parts converge again into the unity of the Puruṣa, unparted (*akala*) and immortal[12].

12 The moon as guide and 'door' to the heavenly world (cf. n. 8) is invoked under the name of Pūṣan in the prayer *Īśop.* 15ff., *Bṛh Ār Up* V, 15. The opening towards the supernal world of *satya* is covered by the golden cup of his bright aspect, hence he is asked to disclose it for the vision of the initiated, whose *dharma* is *satya*. In this quality Pūṣan is invoked as Yama, king of the dead, as Sūryā Prājāpatya i.e. Pūṣan-Savitṛ (*ṚV* X, 17, 4, cf. IV, 53, 2, *Śat Br* XII, 3, 5, 1), guide and protector of the dead on the distant path to the heavenly world. By discarding his rays and re-absorbing his light he allows the dying *satyadharma* to perceive his "most beautiful aspect", i.e. the "venerable", immortal aspect of the spouse of Sūryā, of the transcendent *akala* Puruṣa with whom the redeemed man, reduced to his sixteenth kalā, is now identified.

The notion of the akala Puruṣa connects this teaching with that of the *Maitrāyanop* concerning the two aspects of the brahman, ***kāla sakala*** and ***akāla akala***. Akāla akala is that which was there before the sun (*prāg ādityād*, which equally means "turned towards east from the sun, namely from the sun setting in the west: the latter meaning refers to the ancient conception of the nocturnal sun. The double meaning is obviously intentional, the resultant significance being that the nocturnal sun is prior to the diurnal). Sakāla sakala is that which began with Āditya. Its form is the year with its round of life and death. Primordially there was the brahman, the Paramātman, the One, universally infinite, immeasurable, indivisible, unthinkable. It is only his shining aspect which appears in the sun and in the other cosmic lights. For two are in truth the forms of the brahman-light, one quiet, the other thriving. The latter constitutes the cosmic lights, but that higher light is the brahman's Own Form. (This *śanta brahmajyotis* is obviously the pūrṇam apravarti of the *Ch. U.*). Its hidden abode is at the same time the hypercosmic space and the hṛdākāśa, its partial shining manifestation in the cosmos is Āditya with the other lights, while in the microcosmos it is Prāṇa. The paths of Prāṇa and Āditya are co-ordinate, the direction of these paths alternates according to whether is is day or night. Like the cosmic sun, also the heart-sun radiates either downwards or upwards. By the action of the downward rays the individual migrates in saṁsāra and obtains the fruition of his karman, whereas by the action of the upward rays he is borne upwards on the devayāna path. Hence the object of the yoga-practice based on this doctrine is to orientate the inner kāla sakala, Prāṇa, in the upward direction leading through the suṣumna to deliverance, i.e. to his eventual reintegration in the transcendent akāla akala.

Here we meet again with most of the items, already known from the earlier texts, in *one* ideological complex centering in the theory of yoga: the sun of the night as the saviour and guide to the sphere of the primordial undifferentiated unity, the realization of this unity in the innermost space of the heart equated with the hypercosmic space. And the conclusion of this taching in the group of stanzas at the end of the *M U.* reiterates the mythically philosophical doctrine of the marriage of Prāna with Virāj which is expounded at the beginning of the VIth Adhy. of the *Bṛh. Ār U.*, and forms the oldest Upaniṣadic document of yoga.

The doctrine of the division and reintegration of psychic and cosmic being is visibly connected with the Vedic myth of Puruṣa-Vāc, whose one

quarter constitutes the world while its three quarters are beyond the world. The one quarter was dismembered and transformed into the many entities of our cosmos. This ideology is applied both to the Puruṣa—in the Puruṣasūkta and several cognate hymns—, and to Vāc or Virāj—in the Vāc-hymn I, 164 and in several cognate texts. I need not again adduce the evidence, which I have already often discussed elsewhere, that Puruṣa and Vāc-Virāj have this complex of features in common because they are the male and female aspect respectively of the same androgynous all-being. The Puruṣasūkta also explains how the severance of the one quarter, which is the cosmic Puruṣa, came about the Virāj aspect proceeded forth from the Puruṣa aspect and generated the cosmic Puruṣa.

I have also repeatedly pointed out that the oldest yoga-ideology, which appears already in the Vedas (among other texts in the great Virāj-hymn of the *AV.*, VIII, 9), is complementary to that ideology of the primordial descent and division, since it teaches the theory and practice of the reintegration of the cosmic quarter divided into many parts—whose microcosmic equivalent is the phycho-physiological unit of man with its many functions—its reintegration into the primordial unity. This realization is an ascension, an extasis, a translation to the transcendent sphere beyond the cosmos, but the transfiguration which conditions it, namely, the transfiguration of the manifold experience into the onefold ecstatic experience, takes place in the innermost space of the human heart, by the power of Virāj, whose essence is described also in this context as the nocturnal light, the mystic essence of Brahman In direct continuity with these ideologies is the yoga-teaching of Yājñavalkya in the *Bṛh Ār U* Which is the supernal way of deliverance? It is traced by the union of Prāṇa-Indha, the principle and exponent of mortal life, with his spouse Virāj, whose essence is explained in the same Adhy. as identical with that of Vāc, constituting in the microcosmos the principle of consciousness, prajñātman. When this union is consummated, man is transformed into the All-Purusa coextensive with the Universe. In the following *Brāhmaṇa* this transfiguration is said to be realized also in dreamless sleep When all the cosmic lights have set, only the inner, invisible light remains to man—*yo 'yaṃ vijñānamayaḥ prāṇeṣu hṛdyantarjyotiḥ puruṣaḥ*. When this vijñānamaya puruṣa sets out for his *paralokasthāna*, then, as the text says further on, he penetrates into the innermost space of the heart-*nāḍis* This is where the realization "*aham evedaṃ sarvo 'smi*" eventually takes place by his agency, as that other

puruṣa, namely the prāṇa, is now wedded to the prajñātman (*yathā priyayā striyā sampariṣvakto na bāhyaṃ kiṃcana veda nāntaram. evam evāyam puruṣaḥ prajñenātmanā sampariṣvakto na bāhyaṃ kiṃcana veda nāntaram*). Therewith man is translated to his "highest world" (*so 'sya paramo lokaḥ*). This reintegration of universal being in the individual is *parama ānanda*. All the several functions of the psycho-physical organism have ceased owing to their unification.

So this is how the sakala puruṣa is turned into the akala puruṣa: by the union with Viraj, by the consummation of the transcendent vision in which the kalās of differentiated individual experience are merged.

It can be observed in the Upaniṣads how the notion of the four pādas of Gāyatrī, three of which (the verses of the Sāvitrī strophe, identified with triads of cosmic and microcosmic principles) are her lower, uttered form, whereas the fourth, transcendent and imperceptible, is her real essence and its place is Sāvitrī's real abode; how this notion is later on transformed into the notion of the four aspects of the ātman, three of which, namely the consciousness of waking of dream and of dreamless sleep, are his nether aspects, in which he is not manifested in his true reality, whereas his fourth, highest aspect, the *turīya* which is the ecstatic consciousness of the yoga-realization, is the ātman's own form The peculiar import of the earlier notion is also retained at the later stage in the parallel speculations regarding the sacred syllable Oṃ, which in the later period became the *alambana* of yoga The yoga-realization, whose four stages are marked by the four moras of Om located in four cakras, is accomplished in the ek-stasis at the brahmarandhra by the reabsorption in the Turīya, which the relevant stanza calls "the Maternal Entity"

The last of the stanzas which conclude the *M U.* connects the doctrine of the three contingent pādas and the fourth transcendent one with the Vedic doctrine of the one contingent pāda and the three transcendent ones, as in a way already the Gāvatrī-doctrine of the *Ch U.* had done by identifying the fourth unuttered pāda of the Sāvitrī with the transcendent reality of Vāc-Puruṣa "In the three (namely in waking, dream and dreamless sleep, as explained in the preceding st) there is the one quarter of brahman, whereas in the transcendent (fourth) are the three quarters"

At a successive stage (in the *Nṛsiṃhottaratāpinyup*) we can observe the interesting encounter of this doctrine of the four aspects of ātman with the doctrine of the ṣoḍaśakala puruṣa. According to the latter doctrine, the

whole of all the kalās, the power of totality, potentially resides in the imperceptible and static sixteenth part, in the ***dhruvā ṣoḍaśī kalā***, whose essence is the ***pūrṇam apravarti*** But this doctrine teaches us that from this potential whole, the Puruṣa, the several kalās are born, whereas of the Turīya, who is transcendent by definition, it had always been understood that he is unconnected with the nether multiplicity and does not give rise to it.

This synthesis of the two doctrines is achieved by conceiving the Turīya as representing no longer only the ***result*** of the yoga-process, but the whole yoga-proess, which at the time was constructed in four stages (the four dhyānas of Epic Yoga and of Buddhism) The *Nṛsimhottaratāpinyup* designates these four stages of the Turīya as ***ota, anujñātṛ anujñā*** and ***avikalpa*** The whole process of psycho-cosmic reality with its three stages, waking, dream and dreamless sleep, is now considered as a potential yoga-process, since it is liable to re-absorption in yoga In this sense it is stated that each of these inferior stages ultimately abides in the Turīya by virtue of the latter's four stages (each of which potentially inheres in the Turīya as liable to re-absorption in him) This provides a scheme of psycho-cosmic reality as divided into sixteen parts The inherence of the three contingent states of the psyche and correspondent forms of the cosmos in the stages of the Turīya is now also interpreted as their being derived from these stages Hence the statement that "the nature of this whole world is differentiation, ***nāmarūpa*** inasmuch as the Turīya has the aspect of consciousness (*cidrūpa*) but inasmuch as he has the aspect of indifference (***avikalparūpa***) the whole world assumes the aspect of avikalpa (namely the fourth stage of the Turīya).

The Turīya is now equated with the *Narasimha-anuṣṭubh* and thus with the syllable Om So the fourth, unuttered mora of Om is the ***turīya turīya*** This is said to be "the Somaloka, Virāj, the ekarṣi, the resplendent female entity (***bhāsvatī***) The ensuing yogic teaching concerns the location of the ***sakala*** Turīya in the psychophysiological centres or cakras, while his constantly recurrent designation as ***saptātmā caturātmā*** and ***catuḥsaptātmā*** points to his lunar connotation as the entity revolving in the 4×7 days of the lunar cycle When the top-point of the ladder of the cakras is reached "at the end of the sixteen" (***sodaśānte***), the gradual re-absorption of the triple cosmos is completed. This means that the complex of reality is now yogically reinterpreted in the transcendent all-being of Virāj bhāsvatī.

The same ideology is subsequently expounded in the form of a narration

modelled on the old speculative myth of *Ch. U* and *Bṛh Ār. U*. concerning the warfare between devas and asuras, when the asuras fought the devas with that Evil which is Death (*āsuraḥ pāpmā = mṛtyu*). Our Upaniṣad narrates (VI) that as the devas were striving for the realization of ātman, they were seized by the āsuric evil, that is to say, by Death. They would overcome Death, and so they awakened the Turīya-Turīya who flashes up at the top of the Oṃkāra: *and for them the āsuric Evil was transformed into the light of pure Sat-Cit-Ānanda*. Therefore one should realize the Turīya-Turīya flashing up at the top-point of Om, because thus the Āsuric Evil is transfigured into the pure light of Saccidānanda. But the devas wished to pass for ever into (the region of) that Light, as they were apprehensive of the second (*dvitīyād bhayam eva paśyantas*, that is to say, fearing to fall back into the *dvaita*, which is in the power of Death) so they stopped in the Turīya-Turīya Thus for them the Light which shone before the world (namely the cidrūpa Turīya, as we see from Chapter II) became the Light which in its self-luminousness does not shine (namely the avikalparūpa Turīya).

On the ground of the foregoing evidence, the meaning of this allegory is now sufficiently clear Death has lost its power over him who has realized at the top-point of the sixteen, in the Turīya-Turīya, the reintegration in the transcendent light of Virāj, for him death is not really death, as the analogous reintegration of the sakala Soma in the Akala during the amāvāsyā night is not a real death but a blissful return to his transcendent fountainhead, his wedding with Virāj bhāsvatī Man vanquishes death in that simultaneous death and regeneration which is yoga. The yogic suppression of all the functions of life, of the kalās of the sakala puruṣa, is not a likeness of death, but a victory over death, which can be made definitive if this realization is made permanent. It is the pure ānanda of the transcendent Ātman—it is the amāvāsyā of the ṣoḍaśakala puruṣa.

MARYLA FALK

Early Indian Jewellery

The earliest personal ornaments in India survive in the shape of unpolished stones discovered from various neolithic sites, one of which is a small village called Gungeria in C.P.[1] From allied finds of celts and other stone implements, the spot appears to have been the settlement of a neolithic people. The jewellery which was hidden underground, apparently for its safety, consisted of 120 ornamental laminae of plain thin sheets of silver and a number of beads of different shapes. The silver leaves would remind one of shiny petals of tropical flowers and the stone beads look like imitations of various seeds of fruits. These were, in all probability, meant for being strung up in threads to be worn as neck garlands.

The date of the find cannot be definitely ascertained. But it is evident that the jeweller had already advanced far from the primitive stage of ornament making when the chief ingredients in jewellery consisted of flowers, fruit seeds, animal claws and bones, and feathers of birds.

A true jewellery epoch dawned in India with the advent of the chalcolithic age. There had grown a peculiar civilization in North western portions of India during this time,—variegated remains of which have been discovered from different places in the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan etc.

Genesis of the people who lived on pasturage and agriculture is not definitely known. From their painted pottery, their well-planned architecture and sculpture in which they had reached a 'creative climax', it appears that they reached a high aesthetic and cultural level And as a predecessor of the Indians of the subsequent age they were great admirers of high class ornaments for personal use. The principal hoards of jewellery which have survived of these people have mainly been found, together with other remains of them, from two important sites, one at Mohenjo-daro in Sind and the other at Harappa in the Punjab.

The city of Mohenjo-daro was unfortunate in being laid within the devastating orbit of the river Indus and till finally abandoned it is known to have been visited by repeated innundations. These floods have left traces on the remains of the city, leaving signs of three quite well defined periods in the life of the settlement.

1 *The Cambridge History of India,* vol I, p 614

Each of these periods are supposed to have extended over an approximate length of 250 years. The antiquities of the earlier as well as of parts of the middle periods have gone beyond our reach due to the rise of subsoil water. Jewellery objects have, however, been found from all over the upper reachable strata. Ornaments are comparatively rare in the middle period but the antiquities belonging to the late period have among them three very large hoards of these consisting of various types.

The city which flourished in Harappa, unlike Mohenjo-daro, was in continuous habitation for a great length of time and hence the ruined site is found to have all the merits and faults of such a site from an archæologist's point of view. Though epoch making antiquities like the dancing statuettes were brought to light from this place, the amount of jewellery discovered at Harappa has not been a very appreciable one. These ruins at this place have so far yielded only one solitary hoard of jewellery worth any notice but some of the ornaments found in this hoard have been of great aesthetic merit

Besides Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, numerous specimens of chalcolithic jewellery were discovered from various other explored sites of the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan. These objects have been mostly found in fragmentary condition and are not worth any special notice. Among these sites just mentioned that of Chanhu-daro in Sind has been of a special interest to the archæologist as well as the student of personal ornaments because remains of numerous stone beads in various states in the process of manufacture were found from this place. It appears that the industry of bead-making was to some extent localised at Chanhu-daro, and other big cities of the chalcolithic age received their requisite supply from that place.

It has been pointed out by some scholars that beads of Indian origin found their way to other chalcolithic cities, the distant land of Mesopotamia. Besides beads, several other objects of distinctly Indian character were also discovered from among the antiquities found in the Sumerian cities of Ur and Kish while a few objects having distinctly Sumerian character were discovered among the finds of Mohenjo-daro and Harrappa This exchange of antiquities shows that there probably existed some close contact between the people of these two distant lands.

Though there were these affinities between the Indians and the Mesopotamians of the chalcolithic age, which led some scholars to think that the

two people might have originally belonged to the same stock yet there was a fundamental difference between the two which interests the student of personal ornaments most.[2] This difference lay in the practice of their disposal of the dead.

In Mesopotamia, as well as in Egypt, in mediterranean islands of Crete and Mycene and in Russia, from where have been discovered the earliest remains of civilization, human bodies were usually buried after death. The royal personages were given fitting burial in accompaniment with various paraphernalia which those personages used to enjoy during their life-time. This practice came to be of immense help to the archæologist and in spite of the efforts of the treasure hunters of all ages, enormous riches of the ancient age have been found to survive in the monumental sepulchral edifices of those countries. In the Indus valley the usual rite was to dispose of the dead by cremation.[3] As a consequence the archæologist failed in his search to find out anything in the shape of sepulchral deposit from the chalcolithic sites of India excepting a few pot burials found at Harappa.

On account of the absence of grave deposits, archæologists, here, had to explore other possible sources for the find of ornaments. We have already had occassion to mention how some ornaments were recovered from the excavated sites. The jewelleries thus found are too poor in number to be either adequate or representative from which a really comprehensive study can be made, nor can any conclusion be drawn about the ultimate skill and efficiency of the chalcolithic jeweller of India.

As has already been said the principal objects of chalcolithic jewellery were discovered from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. The earliest of these was discovered at Mohenjo-daro in the year 1924-25. This was found contained in a copper jar and was discovered at a level of 3′ under the surface of the earth. The hoard consisted of (i) two small silver rings, (ii) two gold rings in dilapidated condition, (iii) several studs and (iv) a number of other objects including beads of various types.[4]

The second hoard which was, however, the largest of these hoards, was discovered in the following year. This collection was stored up in a silver

2 *MIC*, p 67-8

3 *Ibid*, p. 89, 224, Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, p 205

4 *ASIAR*, 1924-25 p 61 & 70; pl. xx, *MIC*, p 252-3

vessel buried at a depth of 6′ below the surface of the earth. Besides various other objects, it contained (i) four hollow round bracelets of gold; (ii) two circular gold studs etc.[5]

The third hoard was discovered at a different site, 4′ below the surface. This contained numerous beads and a number of other gold and silver objects.[6]

The hoard from Harappa had, besides the usual beads, several very interesting specimens of jewellery including a heart shaped pendant of gold inlaid with paste, an '8'—shaped piece of silver inlaid with gold lining, and gold capped paste beads and a pair of ellipse like ornaments made of soldered conical bosses of gold. This hoard was found in the year 1928-29 at a depth of about 8′ below the surface where it lay on a bed of hard earth along with scattered pieces of charcoal.[7]

Besides these chief collections of ornaments, occasional finds of jewellery were made from almost all over the excavated sites. These stray finds, however, consist mostly of beads, one or two stray specimens of thin metal ribbons and numerous rings surviving in various states of preservation.

It may here be pointed out again that most of these stray ornaments including those found in hoards were discovered from layers of late period. Only very few beads and several other objects identifiable as ornaments or parts thereof could be recovered from amidst the remains of the middle period. But the jewellery of the earlier periods has gone absolutely beyond our reach. It was noticed by Dr. Mackay in case of the terracotta figurines, that the difference between those found in the earliest reachable strata and the figures found in the topmost strata was not so manifest as could be expected.[8] The appearance of jewellery represented on these figurines also presents very little discrimination. In technique the jeweller might have gradually improved, the actual shapes of some ornaments might as well have undergone changes in course of hundreds of years through which the cities flourished. But as there is no ornament of earlier age preserved and as the jewellery shown on the human figures found from different strata displays little

5 *ASIAR*, 1925-26, p 89f pl xli, *MIC*, p 527f., 250

6 *Ibid*, 1926-27, p 70f pl xii, *MIC*, p 194

7 *ASIAR*, 1928-29, p 76, pl xxxi, M S Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, p 63 pl xxxvii

8 E Mackay, *Further excavations at Mohenjo daro*, p 257.

distinction, it has been useless to trace the steps through which the jewellery forms had evolved.

For the manufacture of ornaments the Indus valley jeweller had made use of a very extensive variety of elements. Of the metals, the people had a liberal supply of copper and they made a very comprehensive use of it. For its abundance, its pliability and the lusture that it attains by polish copper has always remained in India a very popular element with the poor masses for the manufacture of their ornaments.[9]

Though copper was the most extensively available metal, it was never held in any favour by those who could afford to have jewellery made of gold and silver, and the rarity of these metals and the existence of skilfully made ornaments in these elements alone prove beyond any doubt that gold and silver had already occupied their enviable position in the domain of ornaments. Of the metals and other alloys, the Indus valley craftsman made use of a combination of gold and silver, commonly known as electrum in Europe, and bronze. Dr. Vincent Smith was of opinion that India never experienced any 'bronze age'[10] In fact no particular period in Indian history can be technically termed as 'bronze age' but bronze was not unknown to the chalcolithic people of the country. Its use was not, however, encouraged because, probably, of the paucity of tin.

The various properties of gold, its peculiar attractive colour which can be enhanced by polish and the ease with which it can be delineated into any required shape have made this metal the most favoured material for the manufacture of jewellery Wherefrom the Indians got their supply of gold cannot be definitely said. India has always been known as a country very rich in gold[11] and though very few mines in India are in a working state at the present age yet some scholars have opined that the South Indian mines have been working for the last 25 centuries or more.[12] Contemporary Egyptians had their supply of gold from the Nubian mines but they also knew how to get gold from river sand.[13] The river Indus is found even now to wash down gold particles and the Vedic Aryans were conversant in the

9 *Indian Culture*, vol VI, No 4, p 416

10 *Indian Antiquary*, 1905, p 229

11 'Buy electrum from Sardis if Ye will and gold from India,' Sophocles

12 Maclaren, J M *Gold*, p 2388 40

13 Partington, *Origin and Development of Applied Chemistry*, p 232; also see Smith, *EHA*, p 51 Blumner, *'Terminologie,'* pt. iv, p 122

art of separating gold dust by washing the river sand.[14] It may not be unreasonable to think that in still earlier times the river Indus was richer in its washed down gold and in every probability, the chalcolithic people received a part of their gold as their Vedic successors. Nevertheless, the Indus valley people made a very considerable use of the metal and in all probability, received it from more than one source. Some scholars think that the Sumerians, who had no gold in their own country, received a share of their gold from India.

Silver was also derived from a very liberal source because the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro could indulge in making even big jars out of this precious metal but it was not probably held in any great esteem because probably of the abundance of gold. Of the ornaments so far found very few are of silver, and though it was not very rare yet it was not so cheap as to be available to the ordinary folk.

Excepting in Ur, antiquities of silver are rarely met with in Mesopotamia.[15] Ores of gold found in Nubia contained a sprinkle of silver too and this had been the only source of silver available to the people of Egypt.[16] The process of extraction being a difficult one, silver remained a costlier metal in Egypt than gold and its extensive use was never possible in that country. The relation of Ur with the Indus valley, as has been proved by discoveries of antiquities of extremely allied character in both the countries, was a very close one. In an area where silver was comparatively rare, a liberal occurrence of silver ornaments in Ur probably indicates that the inhabitants of that place had an access to the sources from where the Indus valley people also received their supply. The source might have been in Afganistan where silver was found with coppper.[17]

These were the metallic elements employed for the manufacture of jewellery in the Indus valley. Of the other elements stones of various sorts were widely used. Besides stone, there was shell and a sort of artificial stone now known as paste, or faience. It was a peculiar prepatation of clay, silica and flax etc which were mixed with lovely colours and burnt with extreme care and dexterity. Similarly was used pure clay for the purpose of making beads as well as ring shaped ornaments meant probably for arms or legs. Clay ornaments have not only been found from chalcolithic sites of Indus

14 *Rg Veda*, x, 75, 8   15 Wooley, *Ur Excavation*, vol II, p. 411f.
16 Partington *op cit*, p 230   17 *MIC*, p 675f.

valley alone but have also been discovered from various other sites, especially in Orissa. Orissa has been known as a great centre of artistic activity, and it is said that beautiful ornaments made of clay are still worn by poor women in Orissa. It appears quite probable that the plight of the down trodden people in the society has always remained the same and the poor folk of Mohenjo-daro etc. had to remain content with ornaments made of clay Even clay ornaments were not devoid of their taste for art and beauty and a good many clay objects betray the craftsman's care in execution, baking and colouring.[18]

Numerous antiquities have been found in ivory but personal ornaments of ivory are not frequent at all This element was never extensively employed for the manufacture of jewellery as gold, silver, copper or stone though India is reputed for her richness in ivory.

Stones were mainly employed for the manufacture of beads and pendants of various types. Among the stones can be enumerated agate, carenelian, calcedony and onyx (three different varieties of agate), steatite, quartz, lapis lazuli, 'Amazon stone', turquoise and various other similar semi-precious stones which were freely used.

For the purpose of making beads the stones had to be properly selected, cut, polished and bored with extreme carefulness and skill These processes were carried out to impart a loveliness to the beads which after being finished acquired the virtue of glittering and shining.

Unfortunately very few ornaments have been found in tact The metal objects are mostly in dilapidated condition, shell, ivory faience and terracotta objects have been found in fragments, cords in which the beads and pendants were originally strung have been tracelessly lost For these reasons the original shapes of many of the ornaments have been changed beyond recovery. In some metal ornaments there was originally some sort of core which disappeared leaving the metals in lumps Stray objects of shell etc and beads escaped into rubbish deposits and wherever strings of beads were left, only heaps of beads have survived due to the decay of the cords Attempts have, however, been made in a number of cases to restore the objects to their original shapes But, for a more accurate study of the original shapes of the ornaments and the ways in which these were worn, an examination of the stone, metal and terracotta figures of that age is

18 *MIC*, p. 517.

necessary, because there exist on these figures representations of such jewellery as were probably actually in use during that age.

The chalcolithic sites so far explored have yielded a few stone and bronze figures together with a number of figurines and toys made of terracotta. Of the figures in stone, two elegant specimens found at Harappa are shown without any adornment. Some scholars think that these figures which might have represented some sort of divinity worshipped during that age, used to be adorned by actual ornaments.[19] Representations of jewellery, however, occur on most of the remaining figures in stone.

Of these a very interesting specimen was found at Mohenjo-daro at a depth of 4′ 6″ below the surface. The figure represents a male person; the forearms and the lower portions of it are lost.[20]

The beard and hair of the figure are schematically dishevelled; a shawl having trefoil motifs is shown round its shoulders in Indian way, the expression of the face is calm and the eyes are shown fixed on the tip of the nose The trefoil motifs and the yogic glance have given the figure a sacred bearing

On its extant body, only two pieces of ornaments can be traced; one is round the forehead and the other is round the right upper arm. The ornament round the forehead represents a broad ribbon, broadening towards the ends It passes through a flat circular buckle placed just at the top of the forehead. The ribbon is fastened at the back of the head and the two ends hang loosely upon the back The armlet appears to be a similar broad ribbon with a miniature buckle. The rest of the stone figures have been badly damaged by weather and it is difficult to trace the ornaments represented upon them with any fair amount of correctness Representations of similar forehead fillets with dangling ends occur on a few other male figures.[21] Another male figure is found to have a big knot of hair at the back of its head The knot is kept in position by means of several ribbons and there appears a hair pin with a small knob partially inserted into the knot.[22]

Male figures, it may be pointed out, are very rare and mostly occur in stone. A few, however, occur in terracotta too. In case of terracotta the figures are shown without any wearing apparels but almost invariably

19 *MIC* p 46 | 20 *MIC*, pl 356, pl. xcviii, 1-4.
21 *Ibid*, p 357 pl C | 22 *Ibid*, p. 358, pl. xcix, fig 6.

bedecked with a number of trinkets including necklaces and bracelets shown in applique These figures are considered to have some sacred bearing and it is apparent that the artist fancifully showed as many trinkets upon these figures as he could conceive of.[23] The ornaments in these cases were barely indicated by means of undecorated strips and pellets of clay and it is extremely difficult to say anything regarding the actual forms of the ornaments denoted by those strips.

The figures are, however, very few in number and from a study of the problems whether there had been any particular types of ornament which were worn by males alone or whether there was any peculiar fashion which prevailed only among them can be conclusively solved. The steatite figure mentioned above shows that there was probably an aristocratic class who wore ornaments of a neat yet dignified type.[24] A peculiar seated figure occurring on a seal found at Mohenjo-daro afford another interesting evidence to the fact that different people maintained different ideas regarding the ways in which a male person could be adorned. This figure has both its arms covered with rows of strips which evidently represent bracelets of various shape. There are eleven rings round each arm and a number of torques dangle from its neck The bracelets are worn from wrists upto the shoulders and display a very peculiar way of adorning one's arms. The figure, seated in yogāsana with four animals on four sides and a horn on the head, has been identified by some as an archetype of Śiva.[25] In later age special ornaments are found to have grown up, which were peculiar to particular faith or tribe [26] It may not be unreasonable to think that the way in which ornaments are shown on this figure was peculiar to some particular deity or faith and was not widely prevalent among the masses.

As has always been the case, the glamour of jewellery had its true appeal to the fair sex as becomes evident from the female figures so numerously found from the excavated sites. So far no female figure has been found in stone. Majority of the figures occur in terracotta while there are a few specimens in bronze too.[27] Many of the figures are represented with quite

23 *MIC*, p 340 and also p 34 24 *MIC*, p 44

25 *MIC*, pl xxii, fig 17, p 52

26 H Hendy, (*Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XII), Indian Jewellery, p. 2.

27 *MIC*, p 338f., Mackay, *Further excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, p 257, Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, p 292f

burdening loads of ornaments, shown in case of the terracotta figurines, by means of strips and pellets in applique.

On the head, most of the figures have high fan like head dresses which cover whole of the head as well as ears In case of some of the figures broad ribbon like objects are shown round the lower part of the head-dresses. It appears probable that ribbons were employed in some cases to keep the head-dresses in position.[28] In several cases there can be traced a floral shaped pellet at the top of the forehead where usually the hair bifurcates.[29] These may easily be identified as archetypes of modern 'tikli' so widely worn by the women of northern India Besides this peculiar forehead ornaments other types of forehead adornments may also be traced in case of some other figures Of these the most interesting is a 'V' shaped ornament which occurs on the forehead of a figure found from a stratum belonging to the middle period of Mohenjo-daro.[30]

Ears, as has already been noticed, were almost invariably covered either with the head-dresses or plaited hair and it is difficult to trace any ear-ornament. A figure of a female dwarf discovered at Mohenjo-daro has got the representation of a well shaped earring attached to one of its ears; the other ear is lost

Whether nose ornaments were in vogue has become a question of great controversy Dr Mackay and Mr Vats have identified a number of circular studs found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro as nose buttons. Most of the human figurines under survey have their noses very carefully defined and in case of a fair majority these have survived with little damage. A searching scrutiny of these figures has failed to reveal any trace of nose ornament. If the practice of wearing nose studs was really in vogue, there could possibly be no plea on the part of the artist, who took every care to indicate ornaments on all adornable parts of the body, to conceal the nose ornaments in particular and it seems reasonable to refrain from uttering anything conclusive in this respect.[31]

The figures show a varied stock of neck ornaments which could be worn at a time in considerable numbers. Some figurines belonging to a

28 *MIC.*, p 338 See also Van Buren, *Clay figures of Babylonia & Assyria*, p 14, 923

29 Mackay, *Further Excavations*, p 260f

30 *ASIAR*, 1925-26, pl xxxvi, a

31 *MIC*, p 528, Mackay, *op cit*, p 531 Vats, *op cit*, 446.

considerably early age have representations of thin wiry rings shown in such a way as to cover the whole neck from the trunk to the head. Dr. Mackay thinks that these represented ornaments made of metal rings rather than spiral wires.[32] Dr. Mackay has pointed out a close relationship between this practice and the practice of wearing laces which was prevalent in England some twenty years ago and the habit of wearing coiled collars still existing among the Shah women in Burma.

Several figures have representations of a sort of tight collar round the lower end of the neck. Such collars could be worn from one to three at a time. The strips have occasionally big pellets attached along their lower edge. This phenomenon also occurs in case of the ordinary longer necklaces There was already occasion to make mention of the abundance of beads and pendants of various sorts. Till very recently neck strings were usually made of beads and pendants of diverse materials. It is evident that the plain strips indicated strings of beads and the pellets were nothing but representations of pendants. In some cases small circular pellets may be found placed on board strips of necklaces. These were meant either to indicate bigger beads or some medallion shaped metal objects set in the strings [33]

There are several figures whose collars and dalliers have been shown by means of perforated strips. These cannot but fail to remind one of chains made of metal, which have also been a very favourite type of neck ornament in India from a very early time.[34]

Next to the neck ornaments the girdles appear to have been held in much favour The girdles are indicated on these figures by means of various devices. Usually these are shown by means of two to six simple strips placed in applique round the waist with a circular or ellipse shaped medallion of clay, just below the navel The pellets are seen to range from one to three in number.[35] The ordinary strips may be identified as strings of beads while the medallions might have represented some sorts of metal clasp.

Several figures have got rows of conical bosses shown round the waist as girdle. These appear to have been ornaments made of rows of soldered conical bosses of metal or such bosses sewn on broad ribbons of some woven material.[36]

32 Mackay, *op cit*, p. 265 33 *MIC*, pl xciv, Mackay, *op cit*, lxxii
34 *MIC*, pl xii also x. 35 *MIC*, pl xciv, 14, Mackay, *op cit*, pl.
36 Mackay, *op. cit*, pl lxxii, 5 also *MIC*, pl xcv, 10

The figurines have, mostly, been found in badly damaged state, the greatest damage being suffered by the arms and the legs which have rarely survived in tact. It appears that most of the figures had their arms and ankles adorned with well shaped rings representing bracelets and anklets. One of the figures, which has its arms truncated just below the shoulders shows traces of armlets very high up round the remaining portion of the arm.[37] It may not be unreasonable to think that both the arms of the figure were fully covered with such strips from wrists to shoulders. The strips probably indicate, as is evident from their carefully polished surface, rings made of metal tubes But the objects might also have represented well polished rings of shell, faience or even terracotta, numerous specimens of which were recovered from the excavated sites in well preserved or fragmentary conditions.

A type of arm ornaments traced on a number of figurines found at Mohenjo-daro deserves a special notice In this ornament the clay strips rise high up, encircling the arms in close spirals. These ornaments could be used both as armlets and bracelets. As the arms of most of the figures are gone it is difficult to ascertain the extent of its use

The ornament clearly represents a high flexible ring of spirals, made, probably, of thick metal wires. Exactly similar ornaments are extensively used by north Indian women even at the present time as bracelets, when they are known as 'māthiā' and as anklets, when they are called 'pairy' Such rings are extensively worn by the figures at Bārhut and occur in almost all the monuments upto the age of Sanchi (*c* 200-100 B.C.) This discovery of spiral rings at Mohenjo daro has proved to be of immense relief to the student of Indian jewellery It is well known that spiral ornaments were a common feature among the antiquities found in the Oxus valley.[38] Such rings occur also in Greek jewellery of about 700 B C [39] Petrie noticed a serpent shaped spiral made of gold in Egypt The object according to him could not be of an earlier date than 500 B C He is also of opinion that the object was of Greek or Cryptic origin [40] Such ornaments cannot be traced in Egypt before its contact with Greece nor in Sumeria.

37 *ASIAR*, 1925 26, pl xlii, b

38 Dalton, *Treasure of the Oxus*, p 110 11, pl xvii Borovka, *Scythian art*, pl 67, p 104

39 Sir Flinders Petrie, *Ten years digging in Egypt*, p 33 40 *Ibid*

On the other hand almost all the specimens found outside India are seen to terminate in animal form. The Scythians are renowned as great lovers of animal art and the spirals occurring in Persian art and in Greek jewellery clearly betray Scythian influence. In India also spirals terminating in animal forms are not quite unknown but such occurrence is rare and cannot be dated before 200 B.C. The traditional Indian form was highly flexible in shape with plain ends.

The origin of the basic form of these spirals which had covered such wide area extending from the shores of the Mediterranean upto the Gangetic valley was shrouded in mystery before this discovery at Mohenjo-daro. It is, however, definite that the forms known at Mohenjo-daro are earliest in date. If the people of Indus valley as well as the Scythians did not receive this from a still unknown source of earlier origin, the Indian jeweller of the chalcolithic age may in all fairness, be credited as the original inventor of thin form.

Two bronze female figures, both discovered at Mohenjo-daro have preserved a very interesting evidence of the fashion of wearing arm ornaments in a peculiar way. The figures, both shown in dancing attitude, have got one of each arms adorned with a row or rings rising from the wrists upto the very shoulders Each of the other two arms of both the figures has just four pairs of rings, two at the wrists and the other two just above the elbow Wearing of arm-ornaments in this fashion still exists among dancing girls of some parts of India and in the Indus valley also it might have been restricted to that particular class

Of the anklets, most of which are shown, in case of the terracotta figurines, in the same way as the rings shown round the arms, special attention may be drawn to one surviving on the fragment of a leg made of bronze.[41] It represents a slightly curved ring made of hollow tube and bears very close resemblence to anklets worn in various parts of India and known as 'khāḍu' Nowadays these are made of hollow tubes, usually of brass, and small metal pieces are placed within so that the anklets may jingle at the time of movement. In Vedic texts ornamental rings are generally known as 'khādi' and some scholars are of opinion that the modern name 'khādu' is derived from Vedic 'khādi'[42]

41 Mackay, *op cit*, pl lxxiii, 5

42 Jogesh Ch Ray, *Pravāsi* 1334 B S II, p 71

The male figure with fillets, as has already been referred to above, might have represented the way in which some people at least used to adorn their persons. Other ornaments as seen on these figures, may also be taken as representative of such ornaments as were actually worn at that time. Objects having close resemblence to the fillets shown on the figures are available in Egypt [43] Fillets, it may be pointed out, were a very favourite object of personal adornment in Mesopotamia also, as would be evident from actual finds as well as representations in sculpture Especially the method of winding the fillets round the head and allowing the ends to dangle on the back may be traced in Egypt and Mesopotamia as in India. The fillets represented on Egyptian statues are stiff, and actual finds in that country show that these represented ornaments made of gold Dr Mackay suggests that the fillets, seen on Indian figures, represent ribbons made of some woven material. Several other specific examples of similar fillets may be presented from Indian monuments of a later age. One occurs round the head of a soldier seen on a railing pillar at Bārhut, in which case the two ends are shown floating in the air and it certainly represented a ribbon made of some woven material The soldier wears heavy coat and trousers, boots and a sword hanging from a belt The other fillet occurs on the head of a figure clad in Persian costumes seen in Ajanta (*c* 500 A D) This also appears to be a ribbon of some woven material Both these figures apparently represented people of foreign origin, coming from beyond the north west.[44] The fashion appears to have been a common property of all the peoples who lived between the Indus and the Euphrates or even the Nile.[45]

[*To be continued*]

KALYAN KUMAR GANGULI

43 Perrot & Chipiez, *A History of Art in Ancient Egypt*, vol II, fig 219

44 A Cunningham, *Barhut*, pl xxxiii, 4

45 For the Ajanta figure see J *Griffith*, *The paintings of Ajanta*, II, pl civ, 8, pl 95

MISCELANY

A new Buddhist Sect in Kanheri

In *ASWI*, vol. V, p. 85, Buhler published an inscription from Kanheri cave No. 76, which reads as follows:—

Luders' List No 1020, *ASI*, No. 28, (*West's* No 39).

1. Sidha(ṃ) upāsakasa Dheṇukākat(i)yasa (Kulapiyasa)
2. (Dha)maṇakasa dh(u)tuya pavaïtik(ā)ya Sā(pāya the)
3. r(ā)ṇa bhadata Bōdhikāna Panakāna[1] atevāsini(ya)
4. lena deyadhama p(ā)ṇiyapodhi cha saha bhagi (niya)
5 Ratinikāya saha cha saveṇa nātisabadhi (vage)
6 ṇa ch(ā)tudis(e) bhikhusagh(e) athasu Puris (esu)
7. lesu? patithāpita mātāpitu. . . etc.

"Success! By the female ascetic Sāpā (Sarpā) the daughter of the lay worshipper and inhabitant of Dhenukakata, Kulapiya (Kulapiiya) Dhamanaka[2] (Dharma) (and) the pupil of Thera the Rev Bodhika, (she being associated) with her sister Ratinikā and with the whole number of her relatives and connections, a cave and a water cistern have been excavated (as) meritorious gift for the community of ascetics from the four quarters of the horizon (viz) for eight persons and for the benefit of her parents .. . ..etc."

From the question-mark that has been put in line 7 of his reading and the translation cited above, it appears that Buhler could not interpret satisfactorily the meaning of the terms "*athasu puris(esu)lesu*" as read by him

Unfortunately Buhler did not publish any facsimile of this inscription Recently when I examined it *in situ*, I found that the passage in question read "*Atha Aparīselesu*" and not "*athasu puris(esu)lesu*" as read by Buhler.

In the previously published eye-copies, the word *Atha* (showing the dot in the circle for *tha*) is clear in Dr Bird's facsimile, while the word

1 The word "*Panakāṇa*" is missing in Dr Buhler's transliteration and is supplied here from Dr West's eye copy of the inscription and from the accompanying ink impressions prepared by me

2 Pandit Bhagawanlal read "Rāmanaka" in place of "Dhamanaka" (see *Bombay Gazetteer* XV, p 188) but Buhler's reading is more probable

3 *Historical Researches*, (1853) Plate XLV, No 18

'HQ March 1942

Cave 76

Apara can be well made out from the transcript of Dr E. West,[4] the forms of the letters *a* and *su*, being almost identical in the early Brāhmī characters. The accompanying photograph of the inscription would make this reading quite clear.

The inscription would then be translated as follows: —

"A cave and a water cistern have been excavated (as) meritorious gift for the community of ascetics from the four quarters, as a special property of the Aparaśaila (sect), residing here, for the benefit of her parents . etc."

It is evident from this reading, therefore, that the inscripton purports to record a grant to the Aparaśaila sect of the Buddhists residing in the monastery at Kanheri.

The Purvaśaila (Pali = Pubbaselīyā) and Aparaśaila (Pali = Apparāseliyā) are known to us as the heterodoxical sects that arose in the second century after Buddha's death.[5]

They are referred to in the *Mahāvaṁśa*,[6] *Dīpavaṁśa*[7] and *Mahābodhivaṁśa*.[8] According to the *Kathāvatthu* commentary,[9] they belonged to the Andhaka school. Their views were similar to the Cetiyavādins.[10]

We have an interesting account of the probable origin of these sects by Hiuen Thsang, the famous Chinese traveller. He writes,[11] "In the country *T'o-na-kie tse-kia* (Dhenukākata) there are numerous convents, mostly deserted and ruined. There are in those preserved about 10,000 or so priests. They all study the Law of the Great Vehicle. To the east of the capital[12] bordering on a mountain is a convent called Purvaśaila and to

4 *JBBRAS*, VI, No 39.

5 Malalasekera *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* vol I, p 118, vol II, p 236

6 Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, Vv 12

7 Geiger *Dipavamsa* Vv 55

8 *Mahabodhivamśa* (P T S) p 97

9 Rhys Davids, *Points of Controversy*, sh shii, p 104, 108 115

10 Louis de la Vallée Poussin, *JRAS* April, 1910, p 413 ff

11 *Si-yu-ki*, trans by Beal, II, p 221, Beal, *Life of Hiuen Thsang*, p 136, Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels* II p 217

12 Different opinions seem to prevail among scholars about the identity of the capital of the Dhenukākata country. Dr Vogel (*Ep Ind*, XX p 8) is inclined to identify it tentatively with the remains at Nāgārjunikonda, as the name of Śri-Parvata occurs in one of the inscriptions (F) found there. According to a Tibetan tradition (Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, I, p 220) Nāgārjuna, the founder of the

the west of the city, leaning against a mountain is a convent called Avaraśaila."

This tradition is further supported by other Tibetan accounts.[13]

Purvaśaila sect is also mentioned in the Alluru[14] inscription from the Kṛṣṇā district and in the recently discovered Dharmacakra pillar inscription[15] found at Dharaṇikota. Under the name *Apara-mahā-vina-seliyā*, the Aparaśaila sect is mentioned in several Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription.[16] The word Purvaśaila also appears there once.[17] The records of the Cetika school, to which the Puravaśaila and Aparaśaila sects corresponded, have been found at Amarāvati,[18] in the neighbourhood of Dharaṇikoṭa.

These inscriptions indicate that the Purvaśaila and Aparaśaila sects were much favoured by the monks residing in the Kṛṣṇā district round about Dhenukākata, the place of their origin Most of them belong to the Śātavāhana period

Dhenukākata, as we know from history, was an early capital of the Śātavāhana kings. With the shifting of their capital from Dhenukākata (modern Dharanikota) to Pratisthana it is probable that many of the Buddhist monks from the former place migrated to Western India This is

Mahāyana school, is stated to have spent his last days on this mountain *Mañju śri-mūla-kalpa* also refers to this mountain in the following way,-

श्रीपर्वते महाशैले दक्षिणापथसंज्ञिके
श्रीधान्यकटके चैत्ये जिनधातुवरे भुवि ॥

M M K (Trivendrum Edn) p 8

Cf also Dutt *Ind His Quarterly* V, pp 794 96

The late Dr C Minakshi, following Sewell *JRAS* (1880), p 95 ff, takes the Bezwada hills as the site for the monasteries referred to by Huen Thsang (See his *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p 221) Recently an attempt has been made to locate the place Dhenukākata, in the island of Salsette near Bombay, and to identify it with Dounga a sea port, mentioned by Ptolemy in his "Geography of India" See Dr F H Johnston, *Two notes on Ptolemy's Geography of India*, *JRAS*, (1941), p 208 ff

13 Bhavya's *Nikāvabheda-vibhanga* cited by Rockhill *Life of Buddha* p 184

14 *Annual Report South Indian Epigraphy*, 1923-24 p 97 *Annual Report*, *Arch Survey of India*, 1923-24 p 93

15 *Epigraphia Indica* XXIV, p 256

16 Vogel, *Nāgārjunikonda Inscriptions Ep Ind* XX-XXI, Inscriptions Cr C 2, E, M2, M3

17 Vogel *Ibid*, *Inscription* F This however refers to some locality

18 Lüders' No 1248, *Archæological Survey of South India*, I, p 100

why perhaps we find the names of the donors from this place inscribed in the Western Indian caves

As many as twelve pillars of the great Caitya cave at Kārle[19] were gifts from the inhabitants of Dhenukākaṭa. This place also figures in a Śelārwādi cave inscription.[20]

As the donor of the present inscription[21] hailed from Dhenukākaṭa, it would not be far wrong to state that she wanted to record her gift for the particular sect which originated in her country, or perhaps she was a devotee of.

That the Cetika school (to which Purvaśaila and Aparaśaila sects corresponded) was also followed in other places in Western India, gains some support from the fact that inscriptions referring to that sect have been found in the Junnar,[22] Nasik,[23] and Ajantā[24] caves.

MORESHWAR G DIKSHIT

Tat-pādânudhyāta-*

A single copper-plate grant of the Gāhaḍavāla king Madanapāla of V E 1164 (1107 A D.) was discovered at village Baderā in District Partabgarh (U P) some time ago It has been edited and translated by myself in *The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, vol XIV, part I, pp 69-77, with a preliminary note from Mr. K C. Sinha (pp 66-69) This is, so far as I am aware, the only inscription of the time of Madana-

19 *Luders' List* (Karle) Nos 1090, 1092, 1093, 1096, 1097 Madho Sarup Vats, *Unpublished votive Inscriptions in the Caitya cave at Karle*, *Epigraphia Indica* XVIII, Inscriptions, Nos 3, 4, 6, 7 8, 9

Nilakantha Sastri and Gopalachari, *Epigraphic Notes A Karle Caitya pillar Inscription*, *Epi Ind* XXIV, p 281

20 *Luders' List* (Śelāwādi) No 1121

21 *Luders' List* (Kanheri) No 1020

22 *Luders' List* (Junnar) No 1171

23 *Luders' List* (Nasik) No 1130

24 Burgess and Bhagwanlal, *Cave Temple Inscriptions*, (*ASWI*, vol X) p 85 Ajantā *painted* inscription No 17

**Postscript*—It has just come to my notice that Dr D C Sircar has already suggested in the *Jounal of the Andhra Research Society* vol X, p 229, that *tat pādânudhyāta*='favoured by him'=*tat-parigṛhīta-*.

pāla, in which he figures as the donor. There is no other special feature in the inscription.

I wish, however, to draw the attention of Sanskrit epigraphists to my translation of *°pādânudhyāta-*[1] occurring in lines 9-10 of the inscription. This expression frequently occurs in the genealogical portions of Sanskrit inscriptions and is translated even by competent Sanskritists as "meditating on the feet of." I, however, feel that this is a grammatically untenable translation. *Anu-√dhyā-* is a transitive root, not meaning 'to go' or 'to obtain.' Consequently the suffix *-ta-* cannot be used in the active voice *anudhyāta-* is definitely in the passive voice. *°pādânudhyāta-* has, therefore, to be grammatically translated as "*meditated* on by the feet of" and not as "*meditating* on by the feet of." I have pointed out in the article referred to above (p. 74, fn. 3) that *anudhyāta-* must mean "thought after," "taken care of," "followed with blessing," "favoured" and cited *Uttararāmacarita* of Bhavabhūti, Act I, *sā tvam amba snuṣāyām Arundhatīva Sītāyām śivânudhyānā bhava*[2] (ed. Belvalkar, Poona 1921, p 8) for the meaning of *anu-√dhyā-*. I have pointed out further that *tat-pādânudhyāta-* thus corresponds to *tat-parigṛhīta-*, "accepted by him" of some of the Gupta inscriptions. My actual translation of *°pādânudhyāta-* in the Baderā inscription is "followed with blessing by the feet of." This translation admits of further simplification, viz, "favoured by the feet of" For the translation "meditating on the feet of" being grammatically accurate, we would require a text like *°pādânudhyāyin-*

Will Sanskrit epigraphists give their thoughts to this correction, which is not merely grammatical, but has considerable importance from the point of view of the political relationship (acceptance for succession?) between two persons indicated in such passages?

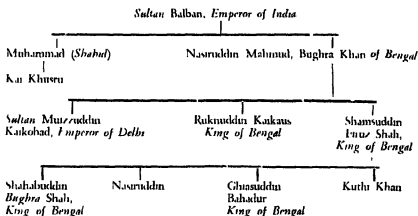
K CHATTOPADHYAYA

[1] The whole passage is परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरनिजभुजोपार्जितश्रीकन्यकुब्जाधिपत्यश्रीचन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीमन्मदनपालदेवो विजयी ॥

[2] Translated by Belvalkar (*H O S*, vol 21, p. 22), "Be thou, therefore, O [divine] mother, towards [thus] thy daughter-in-law, Sītā, ever cherishing kindly thoughts even like Arundhati [herself]!"

The Historicity of Ibn Batuta

re. Shamsuddin Firuz Shah the so-called Balbani king of Bengal

Our knowledge of the early history of Muslim Bengal as obtained from Persian chronicles and summarised by Stewart, was first questioned by Edward Thomas who, from the sources then known to him, reconstructed the history of what has hitherto been regarded as Balbani dynasty of Bengal. A genealogical table appended[1] to the work was revised by Thomas himself and finally presented in the following form.[2]

This table has found general acceptance since then with, of course, occasional modifications The table was further revised by Blochman and again by Stapleton and on the evidence of inscriptions and coins the names of Hatim Khan and Jalaluddin Mahmud were added to the list of the sons of Shamsuddin Firuz.[3]

Now we shall examine the sources from which Thomas reconstructed the genealogical table Regarding Ruknuddin Kaikaus the sources are three, numismatic, epigraphic, and literary. His coins do not mention his father's name but only the royal title of his father and

1 *JASB*, 1867, 41, *Initial Coinage*, 45
2 *Chronicles*, 148.
3 *JASB*, 1873, 249; *ibid*, 1922, 415

grandfather.[4] So also an inscription of his reign wherein he is described as [5]"[كيكاو]س شاه السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان"

The legend كيكاوس شاه بن محمود بن السلطان found on another inscription of his reign[6] is supported by Amir Khusrau who in his *Kiran-us-Sadain* mentions the name of Kaikaus as a son of Bughra Khan and a brother of Sultan Muizzuddin Kaikobad.[7] The joint testimony of these threefold sources leaves no doubt as to his parentage.

As Thomas himself admits, the sole authority for his including Shamsuddin Firuz Shah, king of Bengal, among the sons of Bughra Khan is Ibn Batuta.[8] We shall examine the accounts of that African traveller in order to see how far it can be relied upon. Ibn Batuta calls Shamsuddin a son of Bughra Khan in more than one place, in his accounts of the reign of Sultan Ghyasuddin Tughluq,[9] and of the early history of Bengal prior to his visit in 746H.[10] His statement on the point is as follows:

كانت مملكة هذه البلاد للسلطان ناصر الدين بن السلطان غياث الدين بلبن و هو
الذى ولى ولده معز الدين الملك بدهلى فتوجه لقتاله و التقيا بالنهر و سمى لقاؤهما
لقاء السعدين و قد ذكرنا ذلك و انه ترك الملك لولده و عاد الى بنجالة فاقام بها
الى ان توفى ابنه شمس الدين الى ان توفى فولى ابنه شهاب الدين الى ان غلب عليه
اخوه غياث الدين بهادر بور فاستنصر شهاب الدين بالسلطان غياث الدين تغلق فنصره
و اخذ بهادر بور اسيرا ثم اطلقه ابنه محمد لما ملك على ان يقاسمه فنكث عليه
فقاتله حتى قتله و ولى على هذه البلاد صهرا له فقتله العسكر و استولى على ملكها على
شاه و هو اذ ذاك ببلاد اللكنوتى فلما راى فخر الدين ان الملك قد خرج عن اولاد
السلطان ناصر الدين و هو مولى لهم خالف بسدكاوان و بلاد بنجالة و استقل بالملك و
اشتدت الفتنة بينه و بين على شاه *

From the above text it emerges that Ibn Batuta had no knowledge of Kaikaus whom, we know from numismatic and epigraphic sources, as

4 *Chronicles*, 149. *JASB*, 1867, 43. *Initial Coinage*, 36. Wright, *IMC*, II, 147. S Ahmad, *IMC*, II, Suppl, 41

5 *JASB*, 1873, 246. *Epi-Ind-Mos*, 1917-18, 10-11

6 *Cunningham, Arch Sur Ind*, XV, 97-98. *Chronicles*, 149. *JASB*, 1872, 103. *JRAS*, 1873. *Epi-Ind-Mos*, 1917-18, 11-12

7 Lucknow Edn, 102. Elliot, III, 530. *JASB*, 1860, 234

8 *Chronicles*, 193 9 Elliot, III, 609

10 Ibn Batuta (Def Sang.) IV, 212

ruling in Bengal from 690 H[11] to 698 H[12] at least. The omission of Kaikaus's name in Ibn Batuta's accounts, wherein even Shahabuddin *Bughra* Shah with a reign period of only two years (717, 718H) is mentioned, creates a justifiable doubt as to the authority of the traveller as regards the history of the period prior to his visit. In this connection I shall quote below Gibb's English rendering of a portion of the above text (dealing with Ghyasuddin Bahadur, *Sultan* Muhammad, Ali Shah, and Fakhruddin of whom the last three were his contemporaries).

"He (meaning Ghyasuddin Bahadur) broke his promises and Sultan Muhammad went to war with him, put him to death, and appointed a relative by marriage of his own as governor of that country This man was put to death by the troops and the kingdom was seized by Ali Shah who was then in Lakhnauti. When Fakhruddin saw that the kingship had passed out of the hands of Nasiruddin's descendants (he was a client of theirs), he revolted in Sudkawan and Bengal and made himself an independent ruler."[13]

The following analysis of this quotation will not only strengthen the suspicion but also make it clear that he cannot be relied upon except, when otherwise corroborated even for the history of the period following Shamsuddin's reign and preceding his visit:

Firstly, Tatar Khan (or Bahram Khan as he is called by the title conferred by *Sultan* Tughluq Shah) was at first something like a joint governor with Bahadur at Sonargaon and then its sole governor after the suppression of the rebellion of Bahadur[14] Bahram was not killed by Ali Shah, but after his death the government was seized by his armour-bearer Fakhruddin who assumed the title of Mubarak Shah and declared independence.[15]

Secondly, Bahram Khan was not related to the *Sultan* (Muhammad) by marriage, but was a foster brother[16] and he was a governor of Sonargaon and not of Lakhnauti.

Thirdly, Ali Shah succeeded Qadr Khan in the government of Lakhnauti and assumed independence long after the rebellion of Fakhruddin and not that the rebellion of Ali Shah was followed by that of Fakhruddin.[17]

11 *JASB*, 1922, 410.
12 *JASB* 1870, 285-86 *Lpi-Ind-Mos*, 1917-18, 13-15
13 Gibb, *Ibn Batuta*, 267-8
14 Banerji, *Bānglār Itihās*, II 91
15 Banerji, II, 100, Elliot, III, 242
16 Elliot, III, 234
17 Banerji, II, 100-104, Bhattasali, *Coins & Chronology*, 9-17

Lastly, the reasons ascribed by Ibn Batuta to the revolt of Fakhruddin, if taken to be true, tend to suggest that Ali Shah's predecessor namely Qadr Khan was a descendant of Nasiruddin, and this is opposed to known facts. Sovereignty had long ago passed out of the hands of Nasiruddin's descendants even if we accept Bahadur as a member of the Balbani family.[18]

All these go to show that Ibn Batuta cannot possibly be regarded as a dependable authority for this period of Bengal's history. Last of all I shall quote here the opinion of Thomas himself as to the authenticity of Ibn Batuta for our period.[19]

"Ibn Batuta himself was, however, by no means infallible; for instance on one occasion he makes Bahadur the son of Nasiruddin instead of the grandson (III, 179, 210; IV, 213). Dr. Lee's version again, in omitting the intermediate name of Nasiruddin, skips a generation and makes Shamsuddin Firuz a son of Balban, (p. 128)."

Since the very source of Thomas has been shown to be unreliable, the theory based on it *ipso facto* falls to the ground. I shall now state below a few facts which also go to strengthen my contention that Shamsuddin Firuz was not a *Balbani* king.

Though we have so far no knowledge of Nasiruddin Mahmud's coins or inscriptions we know from Zia Barani that he assumed the royal prerogatives of *Sikka* and *Khutba*[20] Barani is supported by the coins and inscriptions of Kaikaus wherein, as we have seen above, Mahmud is called *Sultan ibn Sultan* From the same sources we gather that Kaikaus is described as السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان Then again Shamsuddin's sons, Shahabuddin and Ghyasuddin Bahadur are described in their coins as السلطان بن سلطان[21] Even Nasiruddin Ibrahim son of Shamsuddin who was a vassal both of Tughluq Shah and of his son Muhammad Shah uses the epithet السلطان بن سلطان for himself and السلطان only[22] for Tughluq Shah and *Sultan ibn Sultan*[23] for Sultan Muhammad Shah. Bahadur also after accepting the vassalage of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq uses the royal pedigree both for himself and also for his suzerain in his coins.[24]

18 Banerji, II 97-105 19 *Chronicles*, 147

20 Elliot, III, 129 21 *Chronicles*, 197, 201, *IMC* II, 148

22 *JASB*, 1911, NS, XVI, 699, *ibid*, 1922, 421

23 Br. Mus coin noticed by Stapleton, *JASB*, 1922 424

24 *JASB*, 1911, NS, XVI, 699; *Chronicles*, 215. *JASB*, 1867, 51; *ibid*, 1922, 424.

From the observations made above it clearly follows that the custom of using supererogatory adjuncts of royal descent, if any, was followed both for the Delhi *Sultans* as well as for the Bengal *Sultans*.

Now turning to the coins and inscriptions of Shamsuddin we find that all his coins dated from 701H to 722H[29] bear the inscription السلطان only. Thomas had no knowledge of his inscriptions, but subsequent to the publication of his contribution we have so far come across three inscriptions of his reign, viz. two in Bihar dated 709H[26] and 715H[27] respectively and one at Tribeni dated 713H[28] all of which bear the legend. السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابى المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان If Shamsuddin Firuz Shah was a son of Bughra and a brother of Kaikaus we should expect the legend السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان or at least السلطان بن سلطان in his coins or in the inscriptions of his reign Thomas's explanation "that he felt himself sufficiently firm in his own power to discard the supererogatory adjuncts of descent or relationship, and relied upon the simple affirmation of his own position as the *Sultan* السلطان "[29] could only be valid if the customary use of adjuncts could be found at least on his earlier coins.

There is another suggestion which lends an additional support to my contention and which was first made by Rajendralal Mitra[30] and which has been merely endorsed but not taken notice of by Thomas.[31] There is a family likeness in the names of *Kaikobad, Kai Khusrau, Kai Kaus*, and *Kaiumurs* which are all borrowed from those of legendary and semi-historical Persian heroes This family likeness again is absent in the names of Shamsuddin and his successors

Finally, a Sylhet inscription of Husaini period mentions one فيروز شاه داری[32] during whose reign Sylhet was conquered in 703H. The trustworthiness of this inscription has been established by Mr. Stapleton after a detailed discussion, but I differ from him when he says that "as the grandson of Ghyasuddin Balban he is rightly called a *Dehlawi*." I would like to suggest that if by the word داری we are to mean

25 *JASB* 1922, 411, Shillong Cab Pl X, No 2, *Chronicles*, 194, *IMC*, II, 147, *IMC*, Supl, 41

26 *JASB*, 1873, 249, *Epi-Ind-Mos*, 1917-18, 22

27 *JASB*, 1873, 250, *Epi-Ind-Mos*, 1917-18, 34-35; *Epi-Ind*, II, 291.

28 *JASB*, 1870, 287, *JRAS*, 1893, 373, *Epi-Ind-Mos*, 1917-18, 33-34

29 *Chronicles*, 193

30 *JASB*, 1864, 580

31 *Initial Coinage*, 45

32 *JASB*, 1922, Pl IX, 413-14

Dehlawi, the inscription gives a clue as to who this Shamsuddin was and wherefrom he came. Could it not be possible that this Shamsuddin accompanied Zafar Khan with his sons, when the latter was sent by Alauddin to Oudh to collect boats for the passage of the Saraju river for his proposed march into Bengal and that Shamsuddin stayed back with his sons when Zafar Khan returned to Alauddin?[33] Firuz might have come as an adventurer to seek his fortune in Bengal as he was quite free to do it without being noticed by Delhi which was then passing through a great political crisis owing to the murder of Sultan Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji and the difficulty of Alauddin in consolidating his power at Delhi. The statement of Firishta that Ghyasuddin Bahadur was an officer of Alauddin[34] may also be considered in this connexion.

I would, therefore, like to conclude with the suggestion that Shamsuddin Firuz Shah was an adventurer and not a member of the *Balbani* dynasty and that he wrested the throne of Bengal from the last Balbani ruler Ruknuddin Kaikaus between the years 698H and 701H and founded another dynasty.

In these circumstances, the genealogical table of the Balbani rulers should be revised as follows:

Sultan Ghyasuddin Balban *of Delhi*

Muhammad, (*the Martyr Prince*)
|
Kai Khusrau (Balban's nominee to the Sultanate of Delhi)

Mahmud, Bughra Khan
Governor of Bengal till Balban's death
Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud *of Bengal*

Sultan Muizzuddin Kaikobad *of Delhi* (Balban's successor)
|
Sultan Nasiruddin Kaiumurs *of Delhi* (infant king ousted by Jalaluddin Khalji)

Sultan Ruknuddin Kaikaus *of Bengal* ousted and possibly killed by Shamsuddin Firuz *Dehlawi* between 698H and 701H

ABDUL MAJID KHAN

33 Elliot, III, 152-53

34 Briggs, I, 406

Some Old Coins Re-Discussed

I

The Coins of Vīrasiṃha

In his article entitled 'Numismatic Notes and Novelties' in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI (1897), p. 308, Mr. Vincent Smith has described a gold coin found in the Gorakhpur District, which he ascribes to a king named Vīrasiṃharāma. This coin is 8" in diameter and weighs 54 grains It has on the obverse a two-line legend in Nāgarī characters which Smith read as (1) *Śrīmad-Vīra* (2) *Siṃha Rāma* and on the reverse the figure of the seated Lakṣmī[1] resembling that on the coins of the Kalacuri, Candella and Gāhaḍvāla kings As no king of the name Vīrasiṃharāma is known from the genealogical lists of the Kalacuri, Candella, Rāthod or Cauhān dynasties, Smith regarded this coin as a puzzle.

The puzzle is solely due to a mistake in the decipherment of the legend, which has not been noticed so far The facsimile of the coin printed in Pl. XXXVIII of the aforementioned volume of the *JASB*, clearly shows the legend to be *Śrīmad-Vīrasiṃharāya* The last *akṣara*, which is a little cramped for want of space, is clearly *ya*. *Raya* is plainly derived from the Sanskrit *rājan* meaning a king. The coin is therefore of the king Vīrasiṃha.

As the reverse type is a close imitation of the Lakṣmī type introduced by the Kalacuri king Gāṅgeyadeva, the coin cannot be earlier than the 11th century A.D. The form of ś in *śrī* of the legend shows that it cannot be later than the 12th century A D. We can therefore identify him with the king Vīrasiṃha of the Kacchapaghāta dynasty of Nalapura who is known from a copper-plate grant[2] dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1177 (A.D. 1120).

1 Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit who has referred to this coin in his article 'A Gold Coin of Virasimha' (*JRASB* for 1936 Num Suppl No XLVI, p 25) thinks that the figure is that of a male deity, holding *cakra* and *gadā* in the hands He takes the deity to be Visnu These weapons are not clear The signs may be intended to represent lotuses which appear clear on some coins of Gāṅgeyadeva (see Cunningham's *CMI*, Pl VIII, No. 1) As stated above, the figure closely resembles that on Gāṅgeya's coins, which is unanimously taken to be a representation of the goddess Lakṣmī. The use of the jewelled girdle leaves no doubt that the figure was meant to represent a female deity.

2 *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol VI, pp 542 ff.

Recently another gold coin of this king has come to light.[3] It is a smaller coin ·45″ in diameter and 13·8 grains in weight. It is thus a quarter-suvarṇa. It belongs to a different type as it has the legend *Śrīmad-Vīrasiṃhadeva* on the obverse and the figure of a horseman on the reverse. Rao Bahadur Dikshit thought that the two kings were not identical, because the coin of Vīrasiṃharāma(?) was found in the Gorakhpur District while that of Vīrasiṃhadeva comes from Gwalior. He has however conceded that both the kings belong to the same period, *viz*, the 11th or 12th century A.D. We have now seen that there is practically no difference in the names of the two kings, the title *rāya* being substituted by *deva* on the smaller coin. As for the difference in type, we know that some kings of the period issued coins of more than one type. We have, for instance, gold coins of the Lakṣmī type and copper coins of the Hanumān type issued by the same king Hallakṣaṇavarman of the Candella dynasty. In the present case both the types are no doubt in gold, but that is not a sufficient reason for denying the identity of the two kings.[4] The difference in provenance can be easily accounted for, since coins are often found far away from the territory in which they were current.

II

The Coins of Vatsadāman

A gold coin of this king was first described by Prof. Rapson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1900, pp 123ff. Recently another gold coin of the same type and fabric has been published by Mr Allan in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fifth Series, Vol. XVII (1937), p. 99. Both these coins have the figure of a cow suckling a calf and the legend *Śrī-Vatsadāmanārāyaṇa* .. along the edge in characters of about the 8th century A.D. on the obverse and the figure of the god Viṣṇu trampling demons on the reverse. Rapson thought that the figure represented Viṣṇu in his Vāmana or Dwarf incarnation. He also thought it possible that this name Vāmana could be restored in the legend *Śrī-Vatsa-vāmana-*. The coin figured by Mr. Allan has however the legend Śrī-Vatsadāmanārāyaṇa quite clear. Besides, the figure on the reverse appears more like that of Varāha than of Vāmana. It is well known that in all representations of

3 *JRASB*, for 1936, Num Suppl. No XLVI, pp 25ff.

4 It is well known that in an earlier age several Gupta kings issued gold coins of different types.

COINS OF VIRASIMHA

By the Courtesy of R A S B

Vāmana[1] or rather those of Trivikrama, the right or the left foot is raised up to measure heaven. Here both the feet are put down with a demon trampled under each. I take the figure to be that of the Varāha or Boar incarnation of Visṇu. It bears close resemblance to that of the colossal boar in one of the caves at Udayagiri. The god appears to be four-armed on these coins The lower proper left hand is placed on the knee and perhaps supports the Earth goddess who is imperfectly seen in this specimen. The upper left arm is cut out The lower right hand is placed on the hip like that of the Udayagiri colossus, while the upper-right hand holds a discus.

As Rapson has already stated, the style of the Nāgarī legend and the type connect this coin with the *Ādivarāha drammas* of the Pratihāra Bhoja I. The figure of the Boar is much better executed on these coins than on those of Bhoja. It also differs in certain respects from the figure on the latter coins, but there is no doubt that it was the prototype from which Bhoja's *drammas* were imitated.

The reverse type 'a cow suckling its calf' was apparently suggested by the king's name Vatsadāman Rapson drew attention to an inscription[2] at Kāman in the Bharatpur State which mentions a prince named Vatsadāman of the Śūrasena dynasty. He has also noted that the Nāgarī letters of the inscription and the coin are not very dissimilar. But he thought that this was not sufficient to identify that prince with the striker of the coin. Since then another inscription of the same dynasty dated V. 1012 (A.D. 955) was found at Bayānā in the same State of Bharatpur which has been published by the late Mr. R. D Banerji It mentions some later princes of the dynasty who owned allegiance to the Pratihāras of Kanauj. A third stone inscription[3] from Kāman recently edited by me mentions *inter alia* a gift of some *drammas* made by the illustrious Bhojadeva who is none other than the well known emperor Bhoja I of the Pratihāra dynasty. There is no doubt therefore that the princes of the Śūrasena dynasty who were ruling over Kāman, Bayānā and the adjoining country had submitted to Bhoja.

1 The figure cannot be a representation of Vāmana who usually appears as a dwarf with an umbrella over his head, receiving a gift from Bali By Vāmana, Rapson perhaps meant Trivikrama

2 *Ind Ant*, vol X, pp 34 ff

3 *Ep Ind*, vol XXII, pp 120 ff

4 *Ibid*, vol XIV, pp. 329 ff.

The Kāman stone inscription of the reign of Vatsadāman, however, does not mention any suzerain and probably belongs to a time anterior to the establishment of the Pratihāras at Kanauj. It is not dated, but on palaeographic grounds it was referred by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji to about the eighth century A.D. These coins of Vatsadāman are interesting as furnishing a proto-type of Bhoja's *Ādivarāha drammas* Both these types of coins contain a representation of Viṣṇu's Boar incarnation and the legends on them clearly indicate that the strikers identified themselves with that god.[5]

The reverse type of a cow suckling its calf was continued in Rajputana. Three gold coins with this reverse type have been published According to Mr. Ajit Ghose,[6] the legend on two of them is Śrī-Voppa or Śrī-Vopparāja. This Voppa is identified with Bappa, the founder of the Guhilaputra or Guhilot dynasty. The third coin was struck by a king named Kasava (Keśava) who is otherwise unknown

V V Mirashi

5 Four silver coins of the Sassanian type with the legend Śri-Dāma, which were found in the Pichore *Pargana* of the Gwalior State, have been described by R. D. Banerji in the *An Rep, ASI* for 1931-14, pp 255ff It is not known if this Dāman belonged to the Śūrasena dynasty

6 *Num Chronicle*, for 1933 pp 139 ff

Rāyamukuṭa's Patron

In this note, it is proposed to discuss Dr. Hazra's views (*I.H.Q.*, XVII, pp. 442-55) on a problem discussed by us simultaneously (*ib.* pp. 456-71). Dr. Hazra has evidently attempted to support a favourite theory of the late Dr. H. P Śāstrī,[1] which is apparently untenable and in doing so he has almost fully stated the difficulties involved. Unfortunately Dr. Hazra, like the late Dr Śāstrī, has missed the elementary point in the controversy viz the *grammatical* construction of the verses concerned of the *Smṛtiratnahāra* Verses 3-6 of the Introduction constitute *one* single sentence and verse 7 is a separate sentence The principal sentence is जीयादयं म जगदत्तसुतः (v. 3), which has three dependent clauses in the three following verses viz.

यः धर्म्मसूनोरभिख्यां दधते (v. 5, दधते is from the root दध्)

यस्य काम्यं न किञ्चित् स्थितं (v. 6)

The second clause (v 4) runs, according to Dr Hazra's proposed solution (p 450), as follows:—

(यः) जल्लालदीननृपतिः (श्रीबृहस्पतये) मैनाधिपत्यमदात् ।

This crucial verse 4 has a lacuna of 8 or 9 syllables in lines 2-3 and no ingenuity can correctly fit in the name बृहस्पति or its substitute in the gap introducing it, as Dr Hazra would do, most abruptly without the remotest relation with verse 7 below, neither can it be replaced here by a pronoun (तस्मै), as Dr Hazra seems to suggest. Besides the appositional phrase 'य जल्लालदीननृपतिः,' where the word जल्लालदीननृपतिः of the last line of verse 4 cannot construe with the word जीयान् of the first line of verse 3, sounds wrong both in grammar and rhetoric. The only natural construction whereby the verse 4 attains relevance and cogency of meaning'

1 Dr Śāstrī first propounded his theory of a revival of Sanskritic culture in Bengal, after a dark age of the preceding two centuries under Rāyamukta patronised by Rājā Gaṇeśa and his son in his Presidential Address at the 8th Literary Conference at Burdwan (*vide Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol 21, p 270, 15th glory of Bengal, also *ib*, vol 36, p 16 and *Des Cat of Sans Mss*, R.A.S.B, vol III (Smṛti), Introd, p xx) His interpretation of the verses of the *Smṛtiratnahāra* is almost the same as that of Dr Hazra (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol 38 p 60), only he did not bring in Bṛhaspati in verse 4

makes it impossible to identify जगदत्तसुत with जल्लालदीन, the verse running (as guessed by us): —

सैनाधिपत्यमिभसैन्धवतूर्य्यशङ्ख-
छत्रावलीललितकाञ्चनरूप्य- (युक्तं ।)
(यस्मै सगौरवम) दाद् बहुभूषणाश्च
जल्लालदीननृपतिर्मुदितो गुणौघैः ॥

Dr Hazra's arguments against the natural construction of the above verses (p. 448), like the rest of his speculations in his paper, lack soundness. He proceeds on the wrong assumption that the 'Gauḍādhipa' of the earlier works of Rāyamukuṭa is identical with the 'Gauḍāvanīvāsava' of the *Padacandrikā*. They apparently refer to different Muslim rulers of Bengal, obviously not named by the author, the last one proving now to be the famous Barbak Shah. Moreover, there was nothing to prevent a scholar, patronised by a chief, petty or big, from joining academic contests (cf विद्वत्सभासु विजयी) and winning laurels in the royal court.

We should mention here that the name of Rāya Rājyadhara's father reads in the manuscript of the *Smṛtiratnahāra* clearly as 'Jagadatta' and not 'Jagadanta'—'tta' in v. 6 exactly agrees with 'tta' of the words 'agamattato' in v 7. The late Dr. Śāstrī gave the correct reading in his Bengali paper, though the misreading ('Jagadanta') was inadvertently printed in the Descriptive Catalogue. Dr. Hazra failed, moreover to notice that the title 'Rāya-Rājyadhara', like 'Rāyamukuṭamaṇi' is too petty for a paramount ruler.

Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya

REVIEWS

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI, 'PEPYS' OF FRENCH INDIA, by Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor, Annamalai University. Madras, 1940.

During the past few years Prof. Srinivasachari contributed to the *Journal of Indian History*, of which he is an Associate Editor, some interesting articles entitled 'The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761)' Those articles form the core of the valuable work under review. The author says, "The matter has been modified and supplemented in places so as to form a continuous narrative of the events The narrative of the Diarist has been kept up as the central core of the book, while notices of the Diarist and his other records made by several generations of scholars at Pondicherry and elsewhere have also been useful." As Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan points out, Prof. Srinivasachari has described the story of French India "with a breadth of detail and with fresh material which lift the narrative above the level of a mere compendium of Pillai's entries in his *Diary*" Those who intend to utilise Pillai's *Diary* as a source of South Indian history must constantly refer to Prof Srinivasachari's notes. General readers will find in this compact, well-written book an interesting and authoritative account of the struggle waged by Dupleix, Bussy and Lally for the possession of India

In the *Introduction* we find a short biography of Ananda Ranga Pillai. The Diarist's life was necessarily affected by the dramatic struggle of which he gives us so interesting a picture The narrative is enriched by a portrait of Pillai, collected from Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil In chapter I the author gives a detailed account of the vicissitudes through which the *Diary* passed to the stage of its translation into English under the auspices of the Government of Madras Chapter II deals with the period 1736-1746; the Diarist's entries are very brief. Chapter III introduces us to La Bourdonnais. Sir Shaffat Ahmad's remark on this scene deserves to be quoted · "The whole forms a picture of which the lights might have been given by Rembrandt, but the outline would have required the force and vigour of Michael Angelo." Chapter IV gives a vivid account of the capture of Madras. Chapters V-VI deal with the French attacks on Fort St David and Chapter

VII with operations round Cuddalore and Pondicherry. Chapters VIII-XI give a stirring account of the fortunes of Chanda Sahib, 'the stormy petrel, who ascended the sky like a meteor and dropped down like a stick. In chapters XII-XIII we get a pathetic account of the last phase of Dupleix's career, the way in which he faced odds, his desperate search for allies. Pillai remarks, "How can the Governor expect success when all his actions are unjust? Victory will attend him only when his heart is right." (December 7, 1753). Chapters XIV-XV deal with the activities of Godeheu and De Leyrit Chapter XVI deals with Bussy Of the dramatic developments narrated in Chapter XVII the invasion of the Carnatic by the Marathas is perhaps the most interesting The next two chapters describe Lally's desperate attempt to save the situation. Chapter XX closes with the death of the Diarist and the fall of Pondicherry.

The book contains a very exhaustive Index and a valuable map of Pondicherry and the neighbouring country.

A C. BANERJEE

ṚGVEDASAṂHITĀ with the commentary of Sāyanācārya vol III (6-8 maṇḍalas). Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona 1941.

The authorities of the Vedic Research Institute of the Tilak Mahārāṣṭra University are to be congratulated on the publication of the third volume of the Commentary of Sayana on the *Ṛgveda* The standard of scholarship which guided the editors in the two earlier volumes has been happily maintained in the present volume too The lovers of Vedic studies will have genuine reasons to be thankful to the learned writers for their very laborious and careful editing of the text of Sāyana which has been the very gateway of Vedic interpretation. We need not repeat all what we have said in praise of this work in course of the review of two earlier volumes in the pages of this journal In spite of misprints which unfortunately crept in this work it will for a long time remain the standard edition of the monumental work of Sāyana

THE PṚTHVĪRĀJAVIJAYA OF JAYĀNAKA, with the Commentary of Jonarāja, edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gaurishankar H. Ojha and the late Pandit Chandradhar Sharma Guleri; published by Dr. G. H. Ojha, Ajmer, 1941, pages 4 + 11 + 314.

The *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, doubtfully ascribed to Jayānaka who possibly belonged to Kashmir, is a remarkable *mahākāvya*, very valuable for the history of the Imperial Cāhamānas (Cauhāns) of Śākambharī (Sambhar) and Ajayameru (Ajmer). A Ms. of the work with Jonarāja's commentary was discovered by Buhler in 1876 in Kashmir. He published an account of the work in his *Detailed Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit Mss. made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India*, 1877, p. 63, and *Proc. A.S.B.*, April-May, 1878, p 94 The contents of the poem were discussed by J Morrison in *Vienna Or Journ*, VII, 1893, pp. 187-92, and by H. B. Sarda in *J R A S*, 1913, pp 259-81. The work was then edited by S. K. Belvalkar in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, No. 228 (1914-22). Unfortunately there is no reference in the short preface of the work under review to the edition of Belvalkar and the paper of Morrison.

No other Ms of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* excepting the one discovered by Buhler has as yet come to light. Buhler's Ms is again mutilated and incomplete The work was apparently composed in the period A.D. 1191-92, the dates of the first and second battles of Tarain, in order to immortalise the great victory of the Cāhamāna king Pṛthvīrāja III (*c.* 1179-92 A D.) over the Muslim invader Muiz-uddīn Muḥammad bin Sam in the first battle of Tarain. In Canto X, it actually introduces the Gori (= Ghūrī, belonging to Ghūr), lord of the land of Garjana (= Ghazna) who is said to have sent a messenger to the court of the Cāhamāna king. It is however a matter of regret that the Ms abruptly breaks towards the end of Canto XII and that the following Cantos dealing with Pṛthvīrāja's victory, which was apparently the theme of the poem, are thus lost to us

The poor condition of the Ms. has necessarily rendered the task of the editors extremely difficult. But Dr. Ojha and Pandit Guleri must be congratulated for the excellent work they have done as regards the text of the work They have attempted to restore the text wherever possible with the help of the commentary and have also suggested emendations of the text and the commentary in many places The *viṣayānukramaṇī* compiled by them is also exhaustive and useful. It is however unfortunate that the

editors have not dealt with the historical materials furnished by the poem by way of an introduction and have not appended an index to the volume.

Like all Indian *kāvyas* (including the *dṛśyakāvyas*) dealing with historical themes, the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* also contains an amount of unhistorical, imaginary or legendary element. Cantos I-II dealing with the origin of the Cāhamāna dynasty, Canto IV introducing a Vidyādhara, Canto XI, verses 25-104 representing Pṛthvīrāja as an incarnation of Rāmacandra and referring to his love for a lady who was Tilottamā in her previous birth, etc. apparently fall in the above category. But on comparison with the known facts of Cāhamāna history, it has been found that the poem contains a very considerable amount of historical truth. As was long ago pointed out by Buhler, the genealogy and general history of the Cāhamānas as given in this work contradicts Cand's *Pṛthīrāy-rāso* in every particular, but agree remarkably with epigraphic evidences. Cand's work may have had more "poetic" elements even in the original, but it appears to have received additions in succeeding ages.

It would be out of place to discuss here the history of the Cāhamānas as given in the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* But a point regarding the history of the Kalacuris deserves special mention. Canto VII (v. 16, p 182) of the poem refers to the marriage of Someśvara, father of the hero, while he was at the court of Caulukya Kumārapāla (*c* 1141-73 A.D.), with the daughter of the Tripurī-purandara, i.e., the lord of Tripurī The commentary says that Someśvara married Karpūradevī, daughter of Tejala. Sarda in his account (*J R A.S.*, 1913, p. 277) gives the name of Karpūradevī's father as Acalarāja. Just to introduce the illustrious family to which the hero's mother belongs, the poet, as do the authors of the Kalacuri epigraphs, begins with the mythical account of Candra, his son Budha and Kārtavīrya Arjuna surnamed *Kalicuri* (of which the author attempts a fantastic explanation), after whom the family was known as Kalicuri = Kalacuri. The Kalacuri kings are said to have grown powerful in the Kali age. The author then gives an account of a very great Kalacuri king of Tripurī, named Sāhasika (verses 95-112, possibly also the lost verses upto the end of the Canto). Now, the question is who is this great Kalacuri king Sāhasika of Tripurī and who again is Tejala or Acalarāja, apparently one of the former's successors?

In this connection, a verse, the text of which is lost but the commentary with the exception of the beginning is preserved, appears to be very